

Early elections prospects fade

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

The prospects of early elections faded yesterday when Premier Menachem Begin told the cabinet he would move to hold elections only if all the coalition partners agreed to them. Two of the partners, the National Religious Party (NRP) and Tami, made it clear yesterday that they do not agree.

Begin said he would discuss the issue with the coalition parties once NRP leader Yosef Burg returned from overseas. But political observers felt there was little hope of either the NRP or Tami being persuaded.

Some observers — including some cabinet members — felt that

Begin himself had cooled to the idea of early elections. The idea first surfaced in an exchange of challenges between Begin and Mapam leader Victor Shentov in the Knesset last week.

Some observers even suggested that Begin was never really keen on calling polls now, preferring to keep the option for future use to ward off tough American pressure over U.S. President Ronald Reagan's peace proposals.

Begin's aides fiercely deny this, insisting that the premier does indeed want early elections, in which the focal issue will be the Reagan proposals. Begin has said that in such a campaign Labour would run on the Reagan plan while the Likud would run on "the Herzl plan" —

and he is entirely confident of the outcome.

Recent opinion polls have shown, however, that while Begin's personal popularity continues to be very high, there is deep division in the nation over the future of the West Bank. Indeed, most polls show a majority favouring "territorial compromise" in return for peace with Jordan.

Begin's aides attributed his willingness to forgo early elections to his sense of honour and allegiance towards his coalition partners. Earlier this year, the aides recalled, Begin pledged to his coalition partners that he would resign — and thus bring down the government — without consulting them.

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Peres says Labour ready for election, not 'circus'

By MARK SEGAL
Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres yesterday said his party would take up the election gauntlet should the government formally throw it down. However, he told the Labour Party central committee that the party has no intention of agreeing to the May-June date urged by Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Press reports have said that Begin prefers to hold the elections after the winter rains, when he can speak to larger audiences outdoors.



President Yitzhak Navon receives the outgoing head of the Mossad intelligence service General (Res.) Yitzhak Hafi in his office yesterday. Hafi is retiring after eight years of service. Story on page 2. (Zoom 77)

Ghali says 'new approach' needed to resume talks

Post Middle East Affairs Reporter and agencies

Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boutros Ghali has said that Israeli-Egyptian relations are "practically frozen" because of the invasion of Lebanon, and that any resumption of negotiations would have to entail "a completely new approach based on a comprehensive solution to the Middle East crisis."

Asked in an interview in the current issue of the *Cairo Today* monthly if the invasion had affected relations between Israel and Egypt, Ghali said:

"Certainly, yes, since Israel's aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people is an aggression against the peace process and the spirit of Camp David, which is based on continuous dialogue and negotiations and not on military confrontation."

As a result, he added, "relations between Israel and Egypt have been practically frozen."

Ghali noted furthermore that

should the stalled autonomy talks ever resume, "this should be with a completely new approach based on a comprehensive solution of the Middle East crisis."

He said such an approach would involve "the adoption by the American administration of certain basic principles which will help us avoid all the confusion and misinterpretation which have encouraged Israel to violate the peace process."

The most important of these principles, Ghali is quoted as saying, were:

- Recognition of the right of Palestinian self-determination.
- Freeze on new Israeli settlements and dismantling of existing ones in the West Bank and Gaza.
- Adoption of a number of confidence-building measures by the Israelis in the Arab territories.

Without the adoption of such principles, Ghali said "it would be useless to resume the stalled negotiations on Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip."

Aridor to request extra aid when meeting U.S. officials

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Finance Minister Yoram Aridor today will raise with American government officials Israel's request that its aid bill for 1984 be increased to \$3 billion. He is not expected to make the request officially — that will be done later. The request is in effect a repeat of last year's request, which did not receive a reply.

The Israeli request for increased aid will be made despite the strained relations between the two countries and budgetary and economic difficulties in the U.S. Israel received \$2.2 billion in military and economic aid for the current year and Congress is presently debating the aid package of 1983. If it is increased by \$300 million, to \$2.5b., as recommended by the U.S. government, it is not certain how

much of that will be a grant and how much a loan.

Aridor will meet with U.S. Commerce Secretary Donald Regan and, apparently, also with Secretary of State George Shultz. Tomorrow and Wednesday he will meet with congressional leaders to discuss aid to Israel for the coming two years.

Israel fears that American budgetary considerations — and not political considerations — could cause a cut in aid to Israel. Congress has authorized a reduced foreign aid budget and is currently examining the budget for places where cuts can be made. As aid to Israel and Egypt constitutes a significant portion of the budget, there are those calling for a cut in Israel's share, especially in the light of the disappointment at Israel's conduct in recent months.

Israel puts Syria on notice to contain PLO infringements

Tension in Bekaa over cease-fire violations

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Tension mounted yesterday along Israeli-Syrian lines in Lebanon as an Israel Defence Forces retaliation was expected following the killing of three IDF soldiers in an ambush on Friday. It was the 98th cease-fire violation since July 23.

Israeli Air Force planes yesterday attacked a SA-9 ground-to-air missile mobile launching pad near Dahar el-Baidat, some 10 kilometres east of Bhamdoun. Five other pads have been discovered — and destroyed — in that area during the past five days.

The attack was launched at 2.30 p.m. and all the Israeli planes returned safely to base, the army spokesman announced.

According to the Christian Voice of Lebanon radio, Syrian troops were placed on maximum alert as Israeli jets intensified their reconnaissance missions over the Bekaa. But by yesterday evening Israel had limited its attacks to the destruction of the launching pad.

The IDF spokesman last night accused the Syrians of permitting terrorists to fire on Israeli positions and to cross the lines to lay mines.

"The Syrians... provide intelligence information on IDF deployment as well as logistic support. The terrorists operate with Syrian knowledge, backing and full consent when they go to attack our forces and that is something Israel cannot agree to," the statement said.

According to the spokesman, 12 IDF soldiers have been killed and 20 injured since Israel's last massive retaliation on July 22. (In that attack, IDF troops destroyed 72 tanks, two self-propelled cannons, 18 armoured troop carriers and nine other vehicles.)

The enemy has also taken nine soldiers prisoner — eight who were kidnapped from their position last Saturday and one water-tanker driver who crossed the lines by mistake.

The army said a Lebanese civilian had been killed and five civilians injured by the Syrian-terrorist activity. In the same period nine terrorists were killed, two were taken prisoner and one was injured.

The enemy attacks climaxed with Friday afternoon's attack. At about 5 p.m., four IDF soldiers were driving in a jeep north of Amik, along

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By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Israel issued a stern warning to Syria yesterday to put a stop to PLO cease-fire violations emanating from the Syrian-controlled areas of Lebanon.

The warning, voiced by cabinet secretary Dan Meridor after the weekly cabinet meeting, came two days after a bazooka attack killed three IDF soldiers in the central sector.

Meridor said Israel held Syria fully responsible for such actions, which had greatly multiplied in recent weeks. If the Syrians wanted to stop the PLO from acting in this way, they could certainly do so, as they had done on the Golan Heights for the past several years, he said.

In Lebanon, too, Meridor noted, there had been a few weeks of respite after the IDF's punishing clash with Syrian armour and artillery on July 22.

But recently, he said, the PLO infringements were steadily increasing. There had been "tens of violations" — and Israel "cannot let the situation carry on like this," Meridor said.

As the cabinet secretary briefed newsmen, IAF plane pounded a Syrian SAM-9 anti-aircraft missile launcher inside Lebanon.

Meridor said this aerial action was "in line with the government's long-standing policy not to permit

the deployment of these missiles on Lebanese soil."

He seemed to distinguish between IAF action against the missile launchers — there was a similar IAF attack last Thursday — and possible military reprisals for the PLO violations. He noted that Israel had "not reacted militarily" for the past several weeks.

Instead, Israel had sent many warnings to the Syrians, he said, through the U.S. and through other channels. "But these warnings don't seem to be effective," the cabinet secretary noted.

The cabinet was briefed on the military situation in Lebanon by Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan and by other high-ranking officers.

Cabinet sources spoke afterwards of a "sharp deterioration" that could lead to a "war of attrition." Israel, they said, was determined to avoid that.

The cabinet is to continue its in-depth debate on the war in an army camp. The debate was begun last week with reports from several top officers. Other IDF men, including the head of the Armoured Corps and the head of the artillery, are yet to speak.

Minister without portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat asked Premier Menachem Begin at yesterday's meeting to instruct ministers not to make public statements on the war pending the conclusion of the cabinet debate.

Cabinet claims Fez summit killed Reagan's proposals

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

The "Jordanian option" — and therefore U.S. president Ronald Reagan's peace proposals — were killed by the Arabs at Fez. This was the cabinet's reading yesterday of the Fez summit resolution — and it will be the guideline for the Israeli hasbira (information) campaign in the U.S. and Europe against the Reagan proposals.

"The Arabs at Fez in effect told Reagan to kiss their —," a high Israeli official yesterday summed up Israel's view of the Arab summit. "They made a laughing stock of the U.S. president."

By the same token, the high official continued, the Fez summit resolution had vindicated Premier Menachem Begin's assertion, much ridiculed last week, that the Reagan proposals must inevitably lead to the creation of a Palestinian state (despite the U.S. president's explicit opposition to this option). For at Fez the Arabs reconfirmed the PLO as the "sole and legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people, and reaffirmed the Palestinian people's "right to self-determination... under the leadership of the PLO."

"King Hussein can't come now and say he wants the West Bank on the basis of the Reagan proposal," the high Israeli official asserted. The summit had not empowered him to do so. The most he could do would be to take over the territories as trustee — and hand them over to the PLO.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, analyzing the Fez resolution at the cabinet yesterday, cited the reference to the PLO and to Palestinian self-determination as two clear instances in which the Fez document represented a hardening of the

Arab line in comparison with the Fahd plan of last year (which Israel also rejected). In fact, said Shamir, "no reasonable man could possibly find anything positive in the Fez resolution... there is no hint of peace or recognition of Israel in it... no abrogation of the noes of Khartoum, no mention of Israel in the context of peace or negotiations... no reference to Resolutions 242 and 338."

Shamir and other ministers spoke bitterly of the "double standards" by which the U.S. and Europe judged Israel and the Arabs. While

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Pope-Arafat meeting due to go ahead

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Israel is still making efforts, through Roman Catholic personalities and Christian-Jewish friendship associations, to head off the scheduled meeting this week between the pope and PLO chief Yasser Arafat. But officials in Jerusalem are privately pessimistic, especially in view of the formal announcement from the Vatican over the weekend that the pope is prepared to receive Arafat.

The government withheld public comment yesterday, apparently so as not to prejudice the eleventh-hour diplomatic efforts. But it seems clear that if the meeting does take place, Israel will respond with a vehement outpouring of indignation.

At the weekly cabinet meeting yesterday Prime Minister Menachem Begin referred bitterly to the silence of Pope Pius XII during the Holocaust, and to the inaction of the Holy See during the seven years of civil war in Lebanon during which Christians suffered and died.

Now, Begin commented, the man responsible for the recent massacres in Lebanon, the man who sought to complete the Jewish Holocaust, was to be received by the pope and thereby will obtain an implicit moral endorsement.

Officials said later that the meeting between Arafat and the pope was regarded as especially serious because of the moral weight which the Vatican carried among hundreds of millions of Catholics around the world.

Complaints against army radio 'groundless'

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Complaints made by two Army Radio workers to Chief of Staff Rav Aluf Rafael Eitan about the functioning of the station and the conduct of its commanders, were yesterday declared "groundless and based on personal and political motives." This was the conclusion of Aluf-Mishne Reuven Gal, formerly the chief army psychologist, who was appointed by Eitan to investigate the complaints made by Avshalom Kor and Emanuel Hareuveni.

Gal's report commends Gali Zahal and its workers on their broadcasts and attitudes during the war, stressing that the station "kept up a constant flow of updated information from the front to the rear and back again, consummating

its flexibility and dynamic character."

Kor and Hareuveni complained that Gali Zahal failed to do its duty during the war, that its commander Zvi Shapira has not been in control of the station for the past eight months and especially during the war, and that Kor's promotion was delayed due to his political position.

According to Gal's report, "the station's commander and workers showed great efficiency and speedy adjustment to developments during the war, while constantly maintaining control and balance of their broadcasts." The report notes that the station's broadcasts reached "professional heights never before reached, even in wartime."

The Military Spokesman announced yesterday that Eitan, after seeing the report, in-

structed the IDF's personnel division head to call a meeting with Gali Zahal staff and inform them of the findings. He also instructed the personnel division head to summon Kor and Hareuveni to inform them of the gravity of their actions and warn them against such actions in the future.

Eitan strongly denounced the "leaks" of information about Gali Zahal, especially from closed meetings.

Meanwhile, it was learned that Ron Ben-Yishai, leading candidate to head the army station, will probably enter the post as a civilian, and not as an Aluf-Mishne as was previously expected. The decision comes after criticism from the press and from station workers about the prospect of a military officer commanding the station.

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Histadrut, employers agree to wage increase

Post Economic Reporter

The Histadrut and the public employers decided yesterday on a 10 per cent increase in the wages of public sector employees. They agreed to continue their talks on an additional 7 per cent rise, payable as an advance on the next Cost-of-Living allowance, which is due to be paid next November.

The 10 per cent increase is in itself an advance on the future salary increase which is currently the subject of negotiations between the parties.

The possibility of a further 7 per cent in the public sector's wage bill for September was raised by the employers during negotiations on the Treasury's new economic plan, according to which the C-o-L allowance will be spread over monthly, partial payments.

Following yesterday's meeting, Histadrut trade union department head Yisrael Kessar said the Histadrut would not accept the C-o-L arrangement if it is not accompanied by an adjustment of income tax brackets.

However, Histadrut sources told *The Jerusalem Post* that the Histadrut is likely to accept the employers' offer even if the government does not announce its intention to adjust the tax brackets.

Yesterday's accord broke the deadlock in the negotiations between the Histadrut and the public employers, which prevented employees from receiving the increase before the High Holy Days. The parties agreed that items included in the wage bill which are not linked to the C-o-L allowance will also be raised by the agreed 10 per cent.

One bomb explodes, another defused

Jerusalem Post Reporter

One bomb exploded and another was dismantled in the Jerusalem area yesterday, causing no injuries.

The bomb that went off was in a building site in Givat Ze'ev near the Atarot Airport. The second bomb was discovered in the Neve Ya'acov neighbourhood by a pedestrian and was defused by police sappers.

Police are still investigating a car bombing on Saturday in Jerusalem's

Jaffa Road in what they believe was part of an underworld feud.

The car driver, Effie Ben-Yehzekel, 23, was seriously injured and yesterday was still hospitalized. A young woman sitting next to him suffered light injuries and two other passengers sitting in the back were unhurt.

Police called on the public to be especially wary of suspicious objects with the approach of the High Holy Days.

Saudis said bowing to Beirut-J'lem pact

Jerusalem Post Staff and agencies

BEIRUT. — The Saudis have given Lebanon's President-elect Bashir Jemayel the green light to sign a peace with Israel, a reliable western source told *The Jerusalem Post* here yesterday.

The source quoted the Saudi foreign minister as saying: "It is difficult to accuse Lebanon of treason if it makes such a decision. If Egypt, the strongest Arab country, makes peace with Israel without occupa-

tion, how can we accuse Lebanon, the weakest Arab country, of treason, especially as it is occupied by Israel?"

In Kuwait, Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah said yesterday the Arab summit conference had decided to make Arab recognition of Jemayel conditional on Jemayel's future policy.

"We linked this recognition with the steps Lebanon will take after Jemayel takes office," Jaber said in an interview with Kuwaiti editors.

Newsman accuse Sharon of 'lying again'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Israel's military correspondents yesterday accused Defence Minister Ariel Sharon of "lying again" when reporting to the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee last Friday.

They were commenting on Sharon's statement that he favoured journalists' coverage and attacking military reporters to "assault forces". The ministry's spokesman also quoted Sharon as saying "that was not always easy to do. Some reporters faithfully covered the war directly from the battlefield. On the other hand, some reporters fought

for an invitation to a cocktail party, but did not fight for a place in the first armoured troop carrier to cover the war from the front line."

A sharply worded statement from the military correspondents section in the Journalists Association yesterday accused Sharon of levelling "unfounded accusations."

"In Israel's history there never had been a war when the relations between the press and the defence minister were so bad," the statement said. "The military correspondents fulfilled their role faithfully, as in previous wars, despite interference and curbs the defence minister had imposed."

Second Yamit proposed for Gaza Strip

TEL AVIV. — The co-chairman of the World Zionist Organization's settlement department, Mattityahu Drobles, yesterday recommended establishing a Yamit-like town in the Gaza Strip.

He said it should serve as a

regional centre for the seven existing settlements, four of which are under construction and four more that he thinks should be built.

According to his plan, which is to be presented to the cabinet, the town should be built in the Nezarim area.



Members of Kibbutz Mitzpe Shalem's desert holiday village demonstrate how to climb buildings at the Kibbutz and Industry Exhibition at the Tel Aviv fairgrounds. (Ya'acov Katz)

Convict and actress begin married life

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Condensing a lifetime of marriage into one night is not easy, but that is what life-prisoner Sami Elkayam was faced with last night after marrying actress Hava Ortmann in a Tel Aviv synagogue surrounded by friends, family and prison officials.

Elkayam, who was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Yefet Nagar in the Shatta jail in 1969, received a short leave to marry Ortmann, culminating a love affair which began four years ago.

Ortmann had come with her colleagues from the Haifa Theatre to Ramle prison, to get background for a play on prison life called *Bars* which the theatre was preparing.

"Our eyes met and we turned on to each other at first sight," Elkayam recalled later. From then on, every week for two hours, Ortmann visited the prisoner, an immigrant from Morocco who had never gone to school and who had entered crime in his youth. They also exchanged scores of letters.

Elkayam began learning to read and write five years ago as part of the prison rehabilitation programme. Today, he is studying for a degree in sociology at the Open University. Shimon Malka, prisons authority spokesman, said he has been exemplary for years, and said the prison commissioner may extend Elkayam's wedding leave to 96 hours.

"Sami told me that he intends to have a child and to bring it up on different morals than he had acquired, as his compensation to society," Malka said, noting that the Prisons Authority has full confidence in Sami and is not afraid he might try to escape.

Some two years ago the president reduced Elkayam's sentence to 24 years, and in 10 years he may get a third of his sentence reduced for good behaviour, it was learned.

The wedding ceremony was held in the Geulat Yisrael Synagogue on Rehov Merkaz Ba'alei Melacha. The newlyweds and their friends then proceeded to Jaffa's Abram Restaurant to celebrate.

Projected GNP growth consumed by the war

Post Economic Reporter

The war in Lebanon has absorbed all of the projected rise in Israel's gross national product for this year and may absorb even more resources, said Ernest Japhet, chairman of Bank Leumi's board of directors at a conference in Montreal yesterday.

According to Japhet, the bank's economists projected before the war a 5 per cent growth of the GNP. But the war has cost the economy this estimated increase of resources.

Japhet praised some of the measures which the government took to finance the war, especially the legislation dealing with taxation during inflation, and defined it as one of the most sophisticated tax laws in the world.

GRADUATES — Twenty-five Gaza residents yesterday completed a police course held in the area. The new policemen will participate in the current campaign in Gaza to stress road safety.

Haifa's Wadi Salib may become artists' quarter

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — A project to turn the virtually abandoned Wadi Salib sector of downtown Haifa into an artists' quarter is being revived after a 20-year period of inaction.

Mayor Arye Gurel told reporters yesterday that a new initiative was under way following his meeting last week with the director of the Israel Lands Administration, Meir Shamir. They agreed to appoint an expert to look into the scheme.

which in the first stage would cover seven dunams and include six buildings, Gurel said.

The area of the projected artists' quarter covers 46 dunams. It is run down and those buildings left standing are mostly empty. Formerly an Arab village, it was used for housing new immigrants after the War of Independence. In the late fifties the residents, protesting the squalid conditions, staged a series of riots which eventually led to their being moved to alternative homes.

One dead, four hurt in Negev collision

BEERSHEBA (Itim). — A 25-year-old man was killed and four other persons were injured in a road accident yesterday morning at the Beit Kama junction north of here.

The dead man was identified as Sulama Abu Ghnima, of the Al Itzham tribe in the Negev. The injured were taken to Soroka Hospital here.

The accident occurred when an army truck and a truck collided head-on.

Senate resolution asks Red Cross to recognize MDA

WASHINGTON (JTA). — The Senate unanimously adopted a "sense of the Senate" resolution on Friday urging the International League of Red Cross Societies to formally recognize the Magen David Adom. A similar resolution is expected to be introduced in the House of Representatives soon.

The Senate resolution was introduced by Senators Paula Hawkins (Republican, Florida) and Christopher Dodd (Democrat, Connecticut), who are co-chairmen of the U.S. committee to secure recognition of the Magen David Adom by the League of Red Cross Societies.

Tirat Carmel hoping to resolve labour strife

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The head of the Tirat Carmel municipal council, the workers council and representatives of the town's clerical union are to meet today at the Haifa labour council to iron out differences that led to a four-day shutdown of municipal services last week.

If an agreement is not reached today, the issue will be decided by a joint committee of the local government and central committee of the workers council.

Third straight day without 'Ha'aretz'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Ha'aretz newspaper will not appear today — for the third consecutive day — due to a wages dispute with its printers.

However, contact was established last night between the workers and management, although it was not clear whether work would resume today.

It is understood that the workers are demanding a 15 per cent increase, having reduced their demand from the original 25 per cent, while management has offered considerably less.

Vocational school to offer broadcasting course

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Broadcasting Authority and Hadassah Community College in Jerusalem will open a training centre for broadcasters in the capital's Brandeis Vocational High School starting early in 1983.

The courses are meant for employees of the authority as well as for outsiders. An agreement to set up the centre was signed yesterday. At the end of their studies, students will receive certificates but no guarantee of employment by the authority.

Teachers will include TV and radio staffers as well as lecturers from the Hadassah Community College and others. The centre will be supplied with \$45,000 worth of equipment.

The authority for years has run a small training centre for its employees in a building near TV House in Jerusalem.

Arab pilgrims leave today for Mecca

The first group of Israeli Arabs making the annual *hajj* to Mecca will leave this morning for Jordan on their way to Saudi Arabia. The prime minister's adviser on Arab affairs will see the pilgrims off at a ceremony at Allenby Bridge.

30,000 dunams on West Bank allocated for settlement

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The West Bank military government recently published orders declaring some 30,000 dunams in various parts of the area as "state land." This will permit their allocation for Jewish settlement.

According to West Bank sources, an order affecting more than 20,000 dunams on the southern slopes of the Hebron hills was published last week, and yesterday bulldozers were reported working on another tract of some 10,000 dunams near the village of Tsurif in the Nablus district.

Villagers from the Tsurif area have petitioned the military appeals board, but as far as they know the board has not yet considered their appeal.

The military government has also been enforcing its order requiring non-resident teachers at West Bank universities to sign an undertaking to refrain from supporting the PLO in any way. Three Jordanian lecturers at the al-Najah university in Nablus were reportedly deported yesterday via the Adam Bridge after

refusing to sign. Teachers holding foreign passports, including at least one British lecturer, are also expected to leave.

In response, the university cancelled a graduation ceremony yesterday afternoon. University sources have expressed fear that up to 25 of its lecturers will face the dilemma of signing the pledge or leaving.

A different version of the order also applies to non-resident students at West Bank universities. Last week several scores of students going to register at Bethlehem University were detained by soldiers and armed members of the local village league because they had not first obtained the required permit.

Officials in the Judea and Samaria civil administration said in response to the publication to the order last week that similar demands are made of visitors and persons applying for work permits in several western countries.

A section of the Ramallah-Jerusalem highway near the al-Amari refugee camp has been closed for four consecutive days following stone-throwing incidents.

Navon won't quit to run for prime minister

Jerusalem Post Reporter

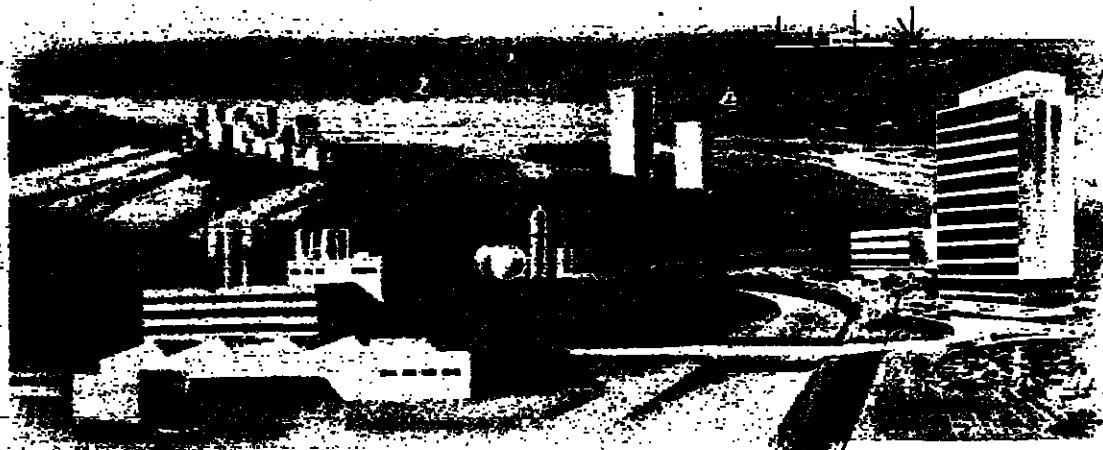
Beit Hanassi yesterday announced that President Yitzhak Navon completely rejected all efforts to involve him in political activities and election matters.

The statement came in response to reports of Labour Party pressure

on Navon to resign and run for prime minister.

Asked about rumours that the president might resign before the end of his term in May, the spokesman referred to Navon's statements that he would serve out his five-year term.

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A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem

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Deng still in power, but Hua dumped

PEKING (AP). — The Communist Party central committee yesterday elected a new ruling Politburo that included China's undisputed leader Deng Xiaoping, but ousted the late chairman Mao's protégé Hua Guofeng, the official Xinhua news agency said.

Deng was elected to the Politburo and its elite standing committee of six members. He also was re-elected chairman of the party's powerful military commission.

Hua, who succeeded Mao as chairman, was removed from the Politburo and its standing committee but remains a member of the new central committee.

Deng's close ally Hu Yaobang also was elected to the Politburo and its standing committee. As expected, he also was elected general secretary to handle daily affairs of the 39-million-member Communist Party.

Elderly leaders Ye Jianying, Chen Yun, and Li Xianmin, also were named to the Politburo standing committee along with Premier Zhao Ziyang.

Foreign diplomatic analysts said while Deng nominally retired to the "second line", he remains China's dominant political force.



Winner Deng Xiaoping (left) and loser Hua Guofeng.

Hua has been sharply criticized by Deng and his supporters for committing "leftist" mistakes by clinging too closely to the policies of Mao.

He has been accused of being a "whateverist" — asserting that whatever Mao said or did was right — and of building his own personality cult and obstructing current pragmatic economic policies.



Hundreds of thousands of portraits of Mao and Hua, one hung in public places and homes throughout China. Hua's supporters spread the famous story that before Mao died he passed the mantle of leadership to Hua, saying "with you in charge, I am at ease."

Almost all the portraits of Mao and Hua were pulled down as China repudiated the personality cult.

Two last-minute passengers
among dead in 'copter crash

MANNHEIM, West Germany (UPI). — Two American TV reporters jumped aboard a U.S. Army helicopter at the last minute and were killed in Saturday's crash along with an estimated 44 others, a U.S. Army official said yesterday.

Authorities stressed they are still not positive on the number of dead and don't know when they will be able to give the exact number.

"The identification is going to take a long time, because the bodies are all melted together in a clump," Mannheim police spokesman Karl-Heinz Zimmermann said.

Colonel Thomas Garigan, chief of public affairs for the U.S. Army

in Europe, told a news conference that two military television men were seen boarding the Chinook aircraft just before it took off.

Brigadier General Eugene Cromartie, commander of Mannheim's military community, said all Chinook helicopters may be grounded as a result of the accident, the worst helicopter disaster in West German history.

"This is automatic with an accident of this sort," he said.

"The Chinook is a very safe aircraft," Cromartie added. He said he was told the crew was seen examining the back of the helicopter before it took off, but said this was normal procedure.

1,100 A-test 'victims' sue
U.S. for \$2 billion in damages

SALT LAKE CITY (Reuters). — People in the little Mormon town of St. George, in southern Utah, would see the flash of an atomic explosion and wait for what they called the big red cloud to pass over them.

The cloud, which took several hours to drift across the Red Desert of Nevada from the atomic testing site 240 kms to the west, carried radioactive fallout from the explosion, according to the town's inhabitants.

"We were the guinea pigs, unknowing and unwitting guinea pigs," said Irma Thomas, 75, who

put aside her pottery five years ago to write to every official she could think of about the increasing number of cancer cases in her neighborhood. Today, the U.S. government will defend itself in a courtroom here against claims by people who maintain they developed cancer because of the atomic tests and the relatives of people alleged to have died because of the tests.

The government is being sued by some 1,100 persons for more than \$2 billion in damages. The case is being heard in a U.S. federal courtroom.

Storms batter Philippines, Japan

MANILA. — At least 45 persons were killed and 29 others were missing in the wake of tropical storm Irving, which struck the main Philippine island of Luzon last week, the civil defence office said yesterday.

The storm, the 14th to hit the Philippines this year, also caused injuries to 22 persons and damaged or destroyed more than 20,000 houses, according to tabulations released to the press.

Officials said Irving, which pummeled Luzon province with 100 kilometre per hour winds at its

centre, affected 38,095 families whose houses were either flooded, damaged or destroyed.

Meanwhile, in Japan, at least 10 persons were reported killed and 18 were missing in the aftermath of typhoon Judy, which hit the islands yesterday.

A central meteorological agency spokesman said the typhoon, that packed peak winds of 126 kph, was "proceeding on the worst course under the worst conditions" — heading north to bisect the northern half of Japan's heavily populated Honshu Island. (AP, UPI)

Saudis hold more Iranian protesters

RIYADH (AP). — Saudi security forces arrested 21 Iranian pilgrims during a demonstration in the holy city of Medina yesterday, the third by the revolution-minded Iranians in the past five days, an Interior Ministry spokesman said here.

He said the pilgrims were summoned to a rally in front of the Iranian diplomatic mission in Medina by Hojatoleslam Musavi Khonini, the personal representative of Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to this year's Moslem pilgrimage season.

Security forces broke up the rally,

which featured Khomeini portraits and "banners not related to religion," and arrested 21 participants, the spokesman said. They will be returned to Iran "because they came here for a purpose other than pilgrimage," he added, but denied reports by Iranian radio that several Iranians suffered injuries in a clash with police.

Tehran radio reported that the demonstrators shouted slogans against "the U.S. crimes, the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and Palestine, and against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan."

Two Israelis in violin
competition semifinals

INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana (AP). — Two Israelis are among the 16 semifinalists in the International Violin Competition of Indianapolis. They are Sergiu Schwartz and Yuval Yaron.

Seven of the other semifinalists are from the U.S. and one each from France, Japan, Korea, Poland, Rumania, Canada and Taiwan.

The winner of the competition, who will be chosen on September 18, will be awarded a \$10,000 cash prize and will make concert appearances in the U.S. and Europe.

China's population
passes billion mark

PEKING (AP). — Vice-Premier Wan Li said China now has more than one billion people, Japanese sources reported yesterday.

Wan told Japanese agriculture Minister Kichiro Tazawa the exact figure is 1.076 billion and is the result of the July 1 official national census, the sources said.

At the end of 1981, China listed a population of 996.2 million people, based on household registrations.

Italy adopts sweeping
anti-Mafia law

ROME (AP). — Parliament, acting with unprecedented speed following the assassination of crime-fighter Gen. Carlo Alberto dalla Chiesa, gave final approval on Saturday to a sweeping anti-Mafia bill.

The 35-article bill was approved by a joint session of the Senate's Constitutional Affairs and Justice Committees, which was all it required to become law. The exact vote was not announced.

It will become effective 15 days after being published in the government's official register sometime this week.

The bill makes it a crime to associate with members of the Mafia or other criminal organizations and gives authorities wide-ranging powers to investigate the financial interests of suspected gangsters.

It also gives law enforcement officers greater powers to use electronic listening devices and to search bank and financial records for criminal activity.

VISIT. — UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar left the Soviet Union yesterday after a five-day visit which included talks with President Leonid Brezhnev.

Sports

Champion plans

NEW YORK (UPI). — "I only ask for two things," Chris Evert Lloyd said, after she had won the women's singles of the U.S. Open tennis championships on Saturday evening with a crushing 6-3, 6-1 victory over Hana Mandlikova, of Czechoslovakia. "I don't want to embarrass myself out there and I don't want either myself or my opponent to get hurt. Also, I'm a strict believer in etiquette."

The word "Etiquette" is French for "Label." Evert's identifying tag could simply read "winner." She was speaking after making a grand return to the throne she has long graced as the Open victory marked the sixth time she has won the tournament. She has also notched up three Wimbledon titles and four French Open championships in her illustrious career.

But I'm not obsessed with winning titles anymore," Evert said. "Since I'm 27 years old there are many younger players out there. I have to have Jack Nicklaus' philosophy. I have to get myself charged up for the major tournaments because I simply can't play a full schedule anymore."

"I'm at the point now where it's time to start seriously considering retiring," she said. "In John Lloyd I know I have found my partner for a lifetime and I am looking forward to starting a family with him. That could be next week, next month, next year or any other 'next' that you can think of. I just don't know when that will be, but I'm not going to play tennis forever."

One thing Evert is especially proud of is her continuing ability to keep cool under pressure.

That certainly is a thing that can't be said about another top American John McEnroe who lost his prospect of gaining a fourth successive men's title on Saturday night when the taciturn Czech Ivan Lendl drove him into the ground for the sixth successive time. Lendl took his place in the final alongside Jimmy Connors thanks to his big service and all round powerful hitting which drove him to victory over McEnroe 6-4, 6-4, 7-5 (8-6).

Taking stock

ATHENS (Reuters). — Four world records pointed to the quality of competition at the European Athletics Championships which ended yesterday. But failure was also very much a feature of the seven-day games.

The most notable failure was the Soviet Union's faltering third-place finish in the medals table behind East and West Germany, although it would be hard to regard this as anything more than a temporary decline. There was also the eclipse of British world record holders Sebastian Coe and David Moorcroft, both beaten by members of the admirable West German men's track squad.

Success stories were, however, more conspicuous, with world record breakers Marita Koch of East Germany, Britain's Daley Thompson and West German Ulrike Meyfarth heading the roll of honour. Koch was the individual star of the games, lowering her own women's 400 metres record to 48.15 seconds and then, with a rolling start, breaking the 48-second barrier as she anchored the East German women's four by 400 metres relay team to a record run in 3:19.05.

The marathon — the final event of the Games staged from Ancient Marathon — site of the first marathon run, was won by Holland's Gerard Nijboer in a time of 2 hours 15:16. He was followed home by Belgium's Armand Van der Auwera with his countryman Karel Knaflitz third. The women's event was won by Rosa Mota of Portugal in 2:36:03.94. Leading nations in the final medal table:

1. East Germany	13	8	7
2. West Germany	8	1	9
3. Soviet Union	6	5	5
4. Britain	3	5	1
5. Czechoslovakia	1	4	4

Rosberg loses wing,
title race still open

MONZA, Italy (UPI). — Rene Arnoux of France yesterday drove his turbocharged Renault to an easy victory in the 53rd Italian Formula One Grand Prix race here — the next to last event of the 1982 season. Ferrari drivers Patrick Tambay of France and former world champion Mario Andretti of the United States finished second and third respectively.

John Watson of Britain finished fourth in his McLaren, the turbocharged, non-turbocharged car, to keep his hopes alive for matching the title from Rosberg at the last race of the season in Las Vegas in a fortnight's time. If Watson wins the race, and Rosberg fails to score a point, both drivers will end the season on 42 points — but Watson will win the title as a result of winning more Grand Prix races. He has already won two while Rosberg has won one.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL: American League — Baltimore 8 Cleveland 1; Boston 13 Detroit 3; Chicago 2 Oakland 4; New York 14 Milwaukee 2; Texas 5 Seattle 2; Kansas City 9 Minnesota 3; California 4 Toronto 1; National League — Chicago 5 Atlanta 3; Montreal 18 Chicago 8; Los Angeles 5 Houston 3; Pittsburgh 10 Philadelphia 3; St. Louis 6 New York 3; San Francisco 8 San Diego 3.

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A Long View

Can Hussein Keep Reagan Plan Alive?

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

EVEN though Israel has rejected President Reagan's Middle East initiative, and the Arab leaders have issued a plan of their own unacceptable to either the United States or Israel, the Reagan Administration is refusing to admit the worst.

The goal of a lasting, effective and just peace in the Middle East "can hardly be accomplished in a few short weeks," Secretary of State George P. Shultz told House and Senate committees last week. "I don't think it is dead by any means."

To Senator Paul Tsongas, who expressed some doubts, Mr. Shultz, an experienced negotiator, said "we should not think that somehow or other there is a magic wand that can be raised and, quickly, something can be settled. I think there is a long haul here and we have to be ready for a long haul."

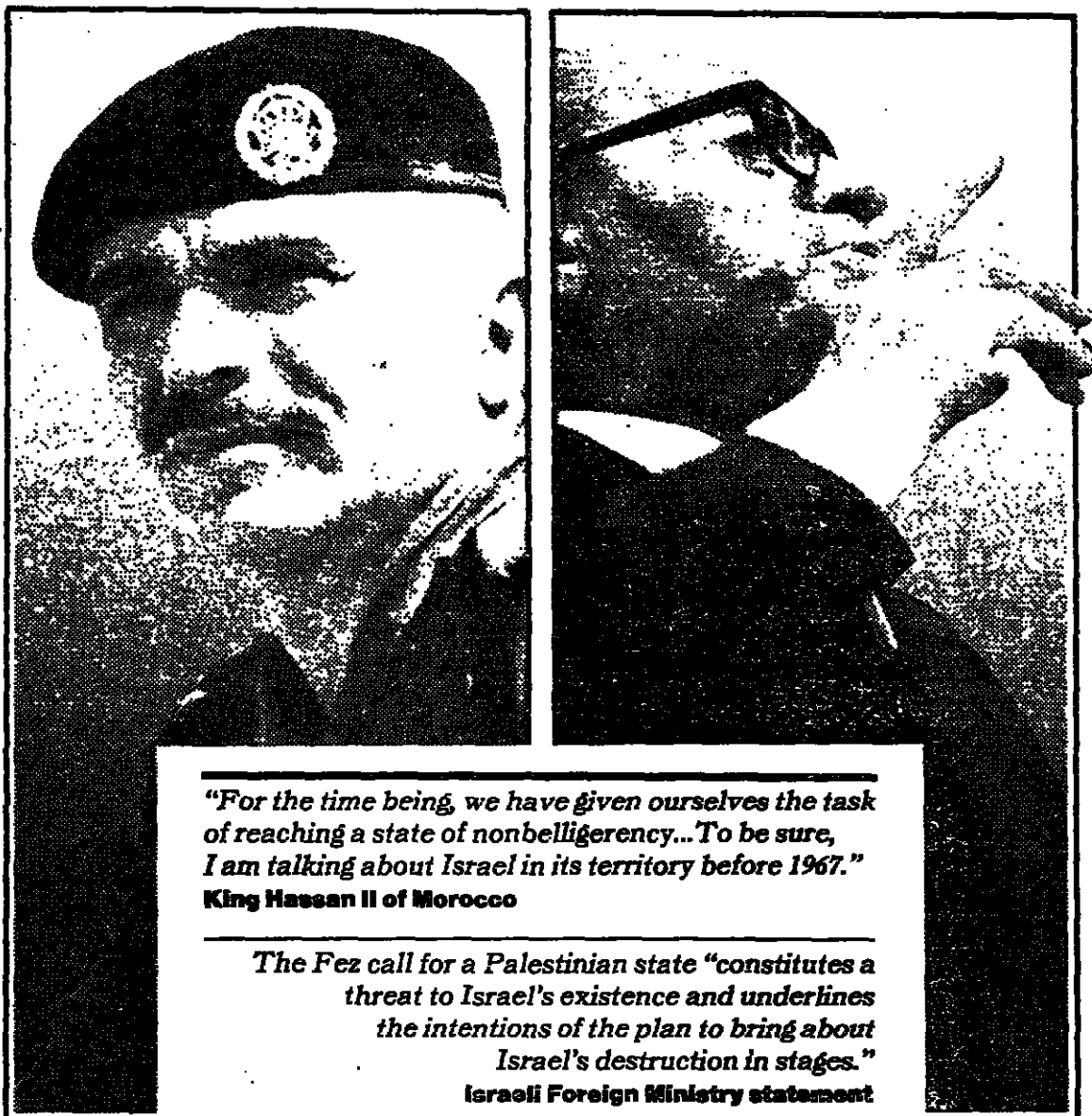
Nevertheless, signs from Israel and the Arab world were, on the surface, open to more pessimistic interpretations than those given by Mr. Shultz. The carefully crafted Reagan "initiative" ran afoul of Israel for many reasons, not least its rejection of ultimate Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza (Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District to Mr. Begin).

And by rejecting the concept of an independent Palestinian state, Mr. Reagan was defying the traditional Arab demands. Since these were not positions that either Israel or the Arabs could easily drop, it could well be, as happened so often in the past, that the well-meaning American peace plan had run into a fatal Arab-Israeli squeeze.

For the moment, there was no inclination within the Administration to pull the plug on its initiative. Scenarios were being plotted for coming months in the hope that the two sides would recognize that "peace is a winner," Mr. Shultz said. "The more it seems possible, the more willing people will be to reach for it and make compromises to get there and we think it most important to put that positive objective up front, with Israel, with the Arabs and with ourselves."

First, it is important, officials said, for the United States to find out what really went on in Fes, Morocco, last week behind the scenes of the Arab leaders' meeting. The document that was issued on Arab-Israeli issues seemed more a forum of previous Arab stances than anything new. Mr. Shultz, looking at the positive, said he detected a possible "breakthrough" in the Arab willingness to have the security of "all states" guaranteed. If the term "all states" is meant to include Israel, that is progress in getting Arabs to recognize Israel, he said, but if the document does not include Israel as a "state," then it represents no progress at all.

At the least, it is important for an authoritative Arab leader to tell Washington whether it should take the talk about a "Palestinian state" and the dismantling of Jewish settlements seriously, or should dis-



"For the time being, we have given ourselves the task of reaching a state of nonbelligerency... To be sure, I am talking about Israel in its territory before 1967."
King Hassan II of Morocco

The Fes call for a Palestinian state "constitutes a threat to Israel's existence and underlines the intentions of the plan to bring about Israel's destruction in stages."
Israeli Foreign Ministry statement

Contact: David Stone, Secretary; Contact: Alan Robinson
King Hussein; Prime Minister Menachem Begin

garded as rhetoric, cloaking more creative behind-the-scenes decisions. The Arab leaders decided to send a delegation to Washington to brief the United States. Of most interest to the United States is whether a deal has been worked out that would allow Jordan to enter into the negotiations with Israel, Egypt and the United States. The Reagan initiative was only taken after King Hussein told a secret envoy that he was taking the American ideas "seriously." The American plan is based on the assumption that Jordan would enter the negotiations, would bring with it local Palestinians from the West Bank loyal to King Hussein and would take the lead in negotiating the future of the Palestinians. Mr. Reagan said such a future should be in some kind of "association" with Jordan.

Arab and Israeli views, page 2

King Hussein in the past, however, has shown himself not to be a risk taker. He is not likely to enter into talks until assured he has Arab backing; and, more to the point, with some likelihood that the Israelis will agree to pull out of most of the West Bank.

The Fes communiqué said nothing about Jordan entering the talks. In fact, there was a strong suggestion that the Arab leaders had reaffirmed the Rabat decision of 1974 by which the Palestine Liberation Organization is supposed to negotiate on all issues dealing with the West Bank. King Hussein has said that he would not negotiate unless the Rabat decision was reversed.

Mr. Shultz will be at the United Nations General Assembly for the usual unofficial convention of foreign

ministers who come to New York in late September and early October for speech-making and some business on the side. State Department officials said they expected that Mr. Shultz would confer at length on the Middle East with envoys from the area and from other parts of the world.

Meanwhile, the scenario presupposes progress in the withdrawal of Syrian, Israeli and remaining P.L.O. forces from Lebanon, thereby providing more diplomatic momentum. If the new Lebanese Government seems in control of its own affairs by late autumn, and there is some Arab willingness to resume the Palestinian discussion in a way that seems promising, Mr. Shultz would probably go to the area for a lengthy visit, officials said.

That raises the question of Israeli flexibility. The intertemporal language from Mr. Begin and his top ministers, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, has produced criticism even from normally loyal American Jewish organizations. But some Middle East experts insist that Israel will be willing to deal once there is some sign from the Arab side that King Hussein will enter the talks.

Henry A. Kissinger, who had long experience with the Israelis, noted in the latest installment of his memoirs that "all Israeli leaders I have known have agreed instinctively on one proposition: never to accept the first proposal put forward by the United States, whatever its merit." He adds that doing so, the Israelis fear, would lead the United States to regard Israel as "a docile client and God knows what we then might take into our heads to impose." Mr. Shultz, a longtime Kissinger admirer, said that he also expected the "opening positions" on both sides to change under the pressure of "quiet diplomacy."

President's Worst Week

Beneath the Veto Upset Were Deeper Discontents

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

TONY Coelho might have been the only gloomy Democrat in Washington last week. The California Representative is head of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and as the House was voting Thursday on whether to sustain President Reagan's veto of a \$14.1 billion spending bill, Mr. Coelho had his computers and copying machines humming. He could not wait to start attacking the Republicans who supported the President, voting against popular programs to help the elderly and the handicapped.

To the surprise of many insiders, the House voted to override the veto, 301 to 117. The 81 Republicans who opposed the President included most of those facing tough races this fall. The same day, the Senate ignored a personal appeal from Mr. Reagan, refusing to halt a filibuster against legislation that could severely restrict a woman's right to abortion. On Friday, the Senate rounded off the Reagan Presidency's roughest week on Capitol Hill by overriding the spending bill veto too. Only two Republican Senators facing re-election backed the President.

It is too early to say that the Congressional coalition that provided Mr. Reagan a long string of victories during his first 18 months in office has finally crumbled. Public opinion polls show many agree with the goals of smaller government and lower taxes, and as Senator Bob Dole warned the Senate, Mr. Reagan's campaign swing through the West last week demonstrated his strong personal appeal.

But the week's events certainly indicated that Mr. Reagan had lost some of his clout. Republican legislators were obviously not deserting him in droves because they were eager to wrap themselves in the Reagan economic record or push for a program that is causing domestic hardships while sharply increasing military spending.

In an important sense, both wounds the President suffered last week were self-inflicted. In both cases, Mr. Reagan apparently decided to propitiate his more extreme supporters, those Republicans who believe, as Senator Bob Packwood put it last week, that the best way to build a political party is to purify it by "driving out evil spirits." In the process, the White House ignored the basic truth about American politics that the Democrats brushed aside when they nominated Senator George McGovern for the Presidency in 1972. Effective coalitions are almost always built in the middle of the political spectrum, not on the ends. And fringe groups, no matter how noisy, seldom win elections.

The President acted as if he believed his own press clippings, that he was a legislative Superman who could leap tall opponents in a single bound. But he discovered that his mandate was not inexhaustible. During the fight over his tax increase last month, Mr. Reagan succeeded precisely because he ignored right-wing pressures and took an ideologically unpalatable but pragmatic course designed to raise revenues and reduce the Federal deficit. As a result, he was able to win the support of Democrats who provided his margin of victory.

But that angered his conservative supporters, who demanded a return to purity, and apparently Mr. Reagan felt compelled to refurbish his image. The White House had been sidetracking the social issue agenda for 18 months, while Mr. Reagan focused on the economy. The decision to shift gears appalled Republican moderates. "For the President to use up chips on these issues," said Senator Packwood, an Oregon Republican, "when he's got so many other pressing issues, is discouraging."

The right wing is pushing so hard out of desperation. They know that the 1980 election was probably their high-water mark, and they want to take advantage of their current strength. But their positions, particularly on abortion, do not represent a consensus. The economic issue is more subtle, a closer call for many lawmakers. In his direct lobbying sessions with swing senators, Mr. Reagan argued strenuously that if his veto was not upheld, he would lose face, and his ability to pursue his program.

The argument made sense to Senator Dole, who asserted that the real question was not whether the bill busted the budget, but whether a defeat would "bust the President." That, of course, may not be known even through the show-downs that emerge in the next few weeks over 1983 appropriations, for which no bills have yet been passed. Another question is whether the President will be able to turn his defeat to political advantage by stepping up his argument that his opponents are really the same old Washington big spenders.

But last week, on the 1982 budget measure, as in the case of the social issues, Mr. Reagan had chosen to fight on the wrong battleground. Senator John H. Chafee of Rhode Island reported that in the Republican cloakroom "there was a feeling that he was ill-advised, that he shouldn't have gotten out on a limb on this one."

For one thing, Congress clearly felt that it had been pushed around too long by Mr. Reagan and by his budget director, David A. Stockman. The anger of Republicans and Democrats at the veto of a hard-wrought Congressional compromise should not be underestimated. More seriously, even Reagan loyalists feared that the President did not understand the limits of his powers or his policies. They might have written him a check in the last election, but it was not a blank check.

Finally, there is a sharp feeling, particularly among Frost Belt legislators, that the White House underestimates the human suffering and political danger its policies have caused. The concern was embodied in a story that Senator Alfonse D'Amato, who broke with the President on the override vote, told Mr. Reagan about Louis Zaccaria, an 85-year-old man who spoke to the Senator at a town meeting in Rochester early in the week. Mr. Zaccaria urged Mr. D'Amato to oppose the veto on the simple ground that too much money was going for defense, and not enough to the "legitimate needs of the elderly and the poor."

"He was a believer," Mr. D'Amato said of Mr. Zaccaria. "He wasn't a rabble-rouser. He was an honest patriot who appreciates the country." The Republicans who defied Mr. Reagan last week were afraid that the President has forgotten Louis Zaccaria and did not understand his impatience.

Major News

In Summary

From Israel, 'No'; From the Arabs, Who Knows?

President Reagan's Middle East peace initiative stiffened backs in Israel and softened rhetoric in Arab capitals last week.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, overriding Labor Party opposition, won Knesset backing, 58 to 36, for his swift and angry rejection of Mr. Reagan's proposals. Mr. Begin accused Washington of gumming for his job. "Our American friends must know that Israel is not Chile and I am not [Salvador] Allende," he said, referring to allegations that the Central Intelligence Agency helped in the overthrow of the Chilean President in 1973. But important supporters of Israel, notably B'nai B'rith and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, welcomed the Reagan plan; reaction among other Jewish groups was mixed.

A meeting of Arab leaders in Fes, Morocco, sidestepped taking a position on the American initiative and said a committee would be appointed to discuss it with Washington. But Syria's President Hafez el-Assad and other Arab radicals swallowed their objections to even distant prospects of Arab-Israeli diplomacy and joined in reviving and endorsing the main points of last year's Saudi peace plan. The conference host, Morocco's King Hassan II, said afterward that the formula was a step toward "nonbelligerency" and could be "a bridge between the Arab world and the United States."

But the gap is wide. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who was not invited to

Fes, suggested the Reagan plan could be more useful for starting negotiations.

"Principles" adopted at Fes included Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied in the 1967 war and a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as capital. A vague reference to United Nations "Security Council guarantees [of] peace among all the states of the region, including the independent Palestinian state" was interpreted by some—but not Israelis—as implying recognition of the Jewish state's right to exist. The Fes formula also seemed to rebuff Mr. Reagan's hopes of bringing Jordan into negotiations with Israel, abjuring the Palestine Liberation Organization anew as the Palestinians' "sole and legitimate representative."

Back in Beirut

Prospects looked brighter in Lebanon last week: 800 American marines helicoptered out of Beirut followed yesterday by 537 Italian troops, their duties supervising the P.L.O. evacuation completed. French units are expected to leave this week.

Lebanese Muslim leaders, holding out a tentative olive branch to President-elect Bashir Gemayel, demanded "total and unconditional" withdrawal of Israeli forces. The Muslims rejected Mr. Begin's proposals for a peace treaty with Israel and Secretary of State George P. Shultz agreed that a treaty signed under Israeli gun barrels would be premature.

Israel promised to withdraw when Syrian forces leave—a proposition Arab leaders at Fes said should be negotiated between Beirut and Damascus. Meanwhile, Mr. Begin warned, "we will not tolerate the entry of ground-to-air missiles into Lebanon." Israeli jets destroyed five missile-launchers, for a total of 23 Soviet-built SAMs demolished since June 9.

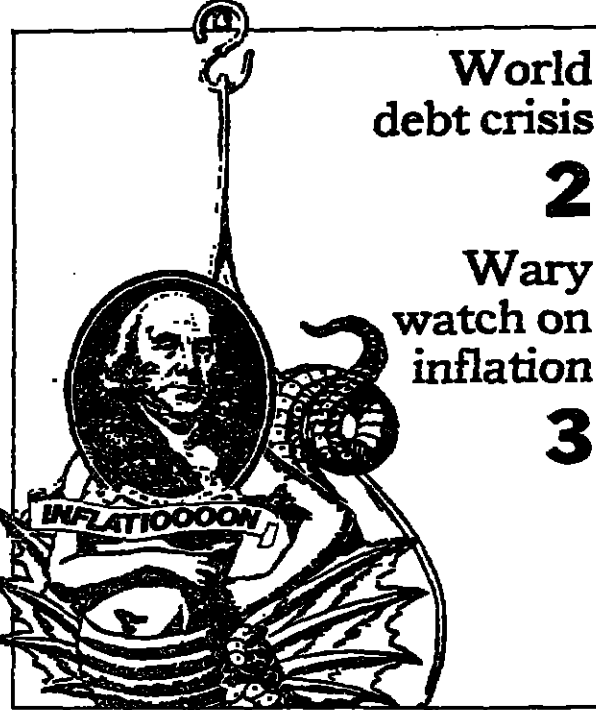


President Reagan

White House Over-Reaches

Representative Robert H. Michel had a straightforward explanation of Ronald Reagan's defeat at the hands of his own party last week. A House vote to override the President's veto of a \$14.1 billion supplemental appropriations bill for 1982 could not be beaten back, the House minority leader said, because Mr. Reagan's "was not a good, solid position to defend."

The numbers show why Mr. Reagan could get cheers on a campaign stop in Ogden, Utah, by shouting "the big spenders won," but not back in Washington, where almost half the Republican members in both chambers defected. Congress, as Mr. Michel put it after the 310-to-117 House vote, "seemed to be saying, don't tell me we're busting the budget; we're just rearranging priorities." In fact, Capitol Hill's version of what was needed to keep Government programs going through the end of the 1982 fiscal year cost nearly \$2 billion less than the version the White House proposed, and \$2 billion either way is hardly a significant factor in this year's projected \$140 billion deficit. The Senate's override vote, 60 to 39, Senate Budget Committee chairman Pete V. Domenici declared, has not "fractured the discipline we have shown" in reducing Federal spending.



People with people in mind.



בנק לאומי bank leumi

The World

In Summary

China Finesses Its Grudges And Drudges

China's Communist leaders reformed their party last week and the new structure resembled, formally at least, the Soviet model. Bureaucratic affinities aside, the atmospherics suggested that the feuding Marxist-Leninist giants may again be groping, however slightly, toward normalizing relations.

For a change, Pravda and the other Moscow newspapers reported on last week's 12th Chinese party congress in neutral language, recording Chairman Hu Yaobang's insistence that "not words but deeds are important" if Sino-Soviet relations are to improve. Moscow omitted Mr. Hu's other, sharper remarks about the Soviet Union. And the Chinese press deleted a swipe at the Russians in its report on remarks by Richard M. Nixon, dropping the visiting former President's reference to "our common interest in containing the threat of Soviet aggression."

The Chinese party's new constitution also projected a relatively civil tone. The 1977 version's pledge to help others "oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States" was reworded to name no names.

Mr. Hu remained party general secretary but lost his title of chairman, associated with Mao Zedong, who was no longer glorified as "the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time." The changes carried the pragmatic stamp of Deng Xiaoping, the party's real leader, who also apparently kept control of the armed forces. Mr. Deng will also remain on the Politburo Standing Committee, the party's ruling inner circle. As expected, advisory commissions were established to ease elderly functionaries into retirement, though some of the oldest demurred. The party's 39,650,000 members will be required to reapply for admission, implying a purge of some of the millions taken in during the Cultural Revolution.

Phone Trouble, Soviet Style

Almost all telephone links between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world were cut last week and Moscow officials blamed an equipment failure. They denied any deliberate effort to reduce international communications but residents of Moscow noted severe cutbacks in service during the summer as well as virtual elimination of direct dialing to and from the West. On Friday, would-be callers complained they could not even get an operator.

Service yesterday was sporadic at best, leaving skeptical users to speculate that political and security reasons might be playing a role. Using a manual system allows the authorities to screen incoming calls more easily and the latest "breakdown" severely reduced access to the West.

One Voice Fades

One Soviet group that frequently sought access to the West said last week that it was disbanding because arrests, jailings and general harassment had reduced it to three active members. The Moscow Group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the U.S.S.R. thus confirmed what had long been evident — the decimation of a once highly vocal opposition. The 1975 Helsinki agreements provided for cooperation between East and West and the protection of human rights, but that didn't stop the Russians from sending 16 of the Soviet group's members to labor camps or internal exile for dissidence.

Dutch and Danes Veer to Right

Worsening economic conditions in Western Europe had political repercussions in two small members of the Atlantic Alliance last week. The Netherlands and Denmark, both with unemployment in double digits, took a turn to the right with important implications for their social welfare policies and, in Copenhagen at least, for military policies.

Although the Labor Party came in first in Wednesday's Dutch elections, it is likely to be out of power when the next government is formed. An upsurge for the conservative Liberal Party put it in a good position to replace Labor in a coalition with the Christian Democrats under Prime Minister Andries van Agt, who would then lead a center-right coalition instead of a center-left one. In addition to likely cutbacks in spending for social services, such an outcome would improve chances that for eventual acceptance of a NATO plan to station 48 cruise missiles on Dutch soil. The Labor Party has bitterly opposed the missiles; Mr. van Agt has been non-committal, preferring to await the outcome of the American-Soviet talks on the military buildup in Europe.

The Danes got their first conservative government since 1901. Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen, a Social

Democrat who had governed since 1975, resigned last week when his minority coalition's austerity program was defeated in Parliament. Now a minority conservative coalition under Poul Schlüter will try, although in a welfare state like Denmark, which devotes more than 20 percent of gross national product to social services, cuts are always politically difficult.

U.N. Chief's Burst of Candor

Everybody talks at the United Nations but nobody listens, the Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, complained last week. The United Nations has been ignominiously rebuffed in Lebanon, the Persian Gulf, the Falklands, Afghanistan, and Cambodia and has been shut out of the turbulence in Central America. Only in South-West Africa, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar said, were there "signs of a possibility of a solution" — achieving independence from



Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

South African rule — with United Nations participation.

After nine months on the job, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar was not surrendering to irrelevance. "I have to be a kind of Pope of my religion," he said, pointing to a copy of the United Nations Charter. "I cannot concede in matters of faith." To bring the unbelievers into the fold, he suggested writing automatic sanctions into Security Council resolutions in case the measures were defied. He also promised to improve United Nations fact-finding in potential danger zones and to bring tough situations to the Security Council's attention before they turned explosive.

A longtime critic of United Nations shortcomings, Jeane K. Kirkpatrick, the chief United States delegate, applauded the Secretary General's "serious, creative thinking about steps that might be taken."

Trudeau Moves His Targets

The Canadian economy is in deep trouble and so is Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's Liberal Government. The first acknowledgement of both kinds of trouble by Mr. Trudeau came on Aug. 29 when the inveterate globetrotter canceled an elaborate tour of the Far East to remain in Ottawa.

Last week came the Prime Minister's second move — a cabinet shuffle by which Allan J. MacEachern, who had taken most of the blame and the abuse for Canada's poor economic performance, was shifted from the Finance Ministry to the less exposed post of Secretary of State for External Affairs. Mark MacGuigan was moved from External Affairs to Justice. Jean Chrétien took over the Energy Department and Marc Lalonde became the new Minister of Finance. Mr. Chrétien and Mr. Lalonde are among Mr. Trudeau's closest associates and have carried out some of his most controversial policies, notably the nationalistic program aimed at energy self-sufficiency and greater national control of the foreign-dominated oil and gas industry.

Mr. Trudeau called the changes "a jewel of a shuffle" but outside the Liberal Party, few others did. Mr. Lalonde made it immediately clear he was staying with Mr. MacEachern's policy of combating inflation, now running at close to 12 percent, with mandatory wage restraints in the Federal Government and voluntary restraints by other sectors. Organized labor is fighting the program but the polls indicate wide public acceptance. Mr. Trudeau's third move is expected to be a whistle-stop tour to pursue his "crusade" against inflation.

Henry Glogier, Milt Freudenheim and Katherine J. Roberts

Hints From Fez Suggest Quiet Diplomacy, for a Change

Arab Moderates Offer Old Proposals in New Unity

By HENRY TANNER

AMMAN, Jordan — One thing is clear: The moderates of the Arab world, the Kings of Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Morocco and, in absentia, the President of Egypt, won a major victory last week in Fez, Morocco, when Arab leaders issued a declaration that for the first time implicitly acknowledged Israel's right to exist and came out unanimously for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict through negotiation.

Even Syria, the leading hard-liner, underwrote the document as did Algeria and South Yemen, which had previously accepted the Syrian view — that Arabs must not bargain with Israel until they achieved military parity and commensurate power. Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, was another key participant.

The Fez meeting also broke new ground by prescribing a procedure for discussions. The leaders said they will appoint a committee that will gather information on behalf of the Arab world and make contacts, specifically with the United States and the other permanent members of the Security Council, the Soviet Union, France, Britain and China.

The Arabs' approach may not please Washington. American policymakers had hoped that one or two Arab leaders, most likely King Hussein, would step forward, as former President Sadat of Egypt had done, to join negotiations with the United States and Israel in the Camp David framework.

This was not in the cards. Arab diplomats said they wanted "quiet diplomacy," with the Fez plan and the Reagan plan serving as the basis for the discussions. Given the gap between Arabs and Americans and the even wider division between Arabs and Israelis, the period of exploration is likely to last a long time.

Mr. Arafat reportedly will be on a seven-member negotiating committee but the Palestine Liberation Organization leader is expected to go only where he is welcome. King Hassan of Morocco explained after the Fez meeting, Mr. Arafat will be received by Pope John Paul II and the Italian President, Sandro Pertini, in Rome this week.

As seen in Amman, King Hussein of Jordan has been thrust into a pivotal role. Jordan is expected to be a member of the committee that will conduct

the talks.

(Others may include Saudi Arabia, Syria, Morocco, Tunisia and Chedli Klibi, the Arab League secretary general.)

Jordanian officials have made clear that they will consider it a point of honor to state the Palestinian case forcefully and they are discussing "parallel negotiating teams." When Mr. Arafat left Beirut, King Hussein sent his foreign minister and the head of his royal household to Athens where they were the first Arab officials to call on the P.L.O. leader.

The Fez declaration reiterated that the P.L.O. is the sole representative of the Palestinian people; King Hussein received no mandate to negotiate for them. For many Jordanians, this outcome is just about right. The King emerged with a leading role, but he is staying within the overall Arab framework — not exposed and made vulnerable by a personal mandate that could turn sour.

Time may be short. Palestinian sources have said privately that before leaving Beirut, the P.L.O. leaders agreed to refrain from violent action in Arab countries for six months, but not longer, unless they saw signs that their demands for a homeland were being heeded. Arab analysts suggest that there is plenty of time — probably years — to reach a full-fledged settlement, but very little time to establish an understanding on the Palestinians' minimum demand for acceptance of the principle of self-determination. If this principle is not granted by the United States, the negotiations are apt to collapse.

Arab intellectuals and officials generally raise two questions about the Reagan proposals. When the President said he did "not support" the creation of an independent Palestinian state, did he leave the possibility open that such a state might be established later, even over United States objections? And, will the United States prevent Is-

rael from building more settlements in the West Bank? This is the crucial test of Israeli intentions, as the Arabs see it.

The sudden display of Arab unity resulted partly from the galvanizing new situation created by President Reagan's proposals, which broke with the former pattern of American diplomacy. There was a growing realization that only the United States can bring peace. The moderate Arab leaders therefore concluded that it was up to them to give the Administration something to work with.

Even the hard-liners were amenable, because Syria, the foremost of them, also wants United States help in mediating Syrian-Israeli disengagement in Lebanon.

Arab regimes were also stirred to act by their feelings of utter helplessness in the Lebanon war and the fear that their own populations, local as well as Palestinian refugees and immigrants, would turn against them.

Finally, Arab officials and intellectuals say they now feel an unprecedented sense of urgency. Their regimes have never before felt so acutely that Israel posed a threat to their own security, and not only to the Palestinians and the countries adjacent to Israel.

As long as Israel was content to "colonize" the West Bank, southern Lebanon and the Sinai, it seemed remote for many Arab leaders. But now Israel is seen as "an imperialist regional power" that reaches far into Arab territory, said Sayed Yassin, an Egyptian

writer. Reflecting a widely held view, he cited the Israeli attack on the nuclear reactor in Iraq, regular overflights of Saudi territory, the takeover of most of Lebanon, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's warning that Damascus is within reach of Israeli artillery and his call for the creation of a Palestinian state in Jordan.

Soon, other Arab intellectuals say, Israel may try to dictate to governments as far away as Cairo or Baghdad and may threaten military action to prevent a nationalist Arab faction from taking power in some Arab country.

Such thoughts, these intellectuals say, have persuaded Arabs to give first priority to the issue of Israel, even in the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia, which formerly saw the Soviet Union as the primary threat to their region.



King Fahd of Saudi Arabia

How Viable Is the Camp David Framework?

Begin's West Bank Line Seems Harder Than Ever

By DAVID E. SHIPLER

JERUSALEM — There was considerable political motion in the Middle East last week, but not much real movement. In the wake of the Lebanon war and the Reagan initiative, both the Israeli and Arab sides conducted elaborate pageants of politics and diplomacy to proclaim their dedication to their old demands. Moderate voices were shouted down and outvoted in the Knesset, where Prime Minister Menachem Begin held fast to his claim of eternal sovereignty over the West Bank. And at Fez, Morocco, Arab leaders hammered out a "peace plan" that offered no peace treaty, and which may or may not have recognized Israel's right to exist, depending on who was interpreting the ambiguous language.

The Arab leaders displayed unprecedented unity in avoiding the old radical call for the annihilation of Israel, thus giving rise to speculation about a subtle shift toward reconciliation. But in also repeating demands for a Palestinian state under the Palestine Liberation Organization, with Jerusalem as capital, the Arabs ignored the opening provided by President Reagan's proposals. The Fez declaration stopped far short of launching an initiative that might have triggered significant debate, and long-term change, in Israel.

As the Israelis saw it, the critical defect in the Fez document was its failure to give King Hussein of Jordan visible latitude to enter some form of negotiation with Israel over the future of the occupied West Bank. Instead, the Arabs reaffirmed the P.L.O. as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, a formulation that has kept the Jordanian monarch from dealing with the West Bank issue since 1974. Mr. Reagan opposed a Palestinian state but sought to bring Jordan into talks by holding out the prospect of Is-

rael's returning at least some of the West Bank, which it captured from the attacking Jordanian army in the 1967 war. Such territorial compromise is anathema to Mr. Begin's Government. But it coincides with the platform of the opposition Labor Party, whose chairman, Shimon Peres, has long advocated a "Jordanian option."

The point is crucial, for no Israelis of any political significance can be found to endorse turning over territory so close at hand to a Palestinian state; the only conceivable route to Israeli withdrawal is through Jordan. A recent Jerusalem Post poll found 51.2 percent of those questioned were willing to return all or part of the territory to Jordan in exchange for a peace treaty; so it is reasonable to assume that an overture from Amman would produce considerable ferment.

Choices Foreclosed

But unless the private, back-room bargaining gave King Hussein unseen room for maneuver, the Fez conference results seemed to be a rejection of the Reagan ideas, undermining his attempt to stimulate broad debate in Israel. "The greatest significance of Fez is that it has not given Reagan enough to legitimize greater insistence on Israeli responsiveness," said Nimrod Novik, a scholar at Tel Aviv University's Center for Strategic Studies. "It has not given the Labor Party enough to suggest that there is a Jordanian option. It forecloses certain options for Hussein, at least publicly. It is very disappointing."

Of course, Middle Eastern diplomacy never moves in a straight line. Reagan Administration officials are counseling patience, and it may be too early to write off the President's plan. An Egyptian peace offering and an Israeli withdrawal from Sinai were also unimaginable before Anwar el-Sadat journeyed to Jerusalem nearly five years ago. And it was Menachem Begin who

withdrew from the Sinai desert, over fierce objections from the far right.

But the West Bank is different. Not only is it literally down the road from Israel's main population centers and therefore a security problem, it is the ancient Land of Israel for Mr. Begin, the land God gave to the seed of Abraham, integral to Jewish history and consciousness. And so, just as the Arabs are imprisoned by their inability to offer Israel a clear and unequivocal statement of recognition and peace, so Israel is imprisoned by Mr. Begin's ideology and his determination to hold the West Bank, where 800,000 Palestinian Arabs and 25,000 Jewish settlers reside.

This raises questions about the continued viability of the Camp David framework, which laid the foundation for the Egyptian-Israeli peace and was supposed to leave open the ultimate status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip by providing an interim five-year period of Palestinian "autonomy." The Egyptian-Israeli peace process went like clockwork; the autonomy plan has gone nowhere, for neither side really wanted to leave the final status open. Mr. Begin has built Jewish settlements and prescribed an autonomy formula to guarantee permanent Israeli presence, while Egypt has proposed broad powers for the Palestinians to guarantee eventual Israeli withdrawal.

For three years, all parties, with the United States as a supposedly neutral mediator, have maintained the illusion that they were dealing only with the interim period. President Reagan finally burst the bubble when he said, "the purpose of this transition period is the peaceful and orderly transfer of domestic authority from Israel to the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza" — the opposite of Israel's view. Whether the autonomy talks can resume productively after this, many Israeli officials doubt.

There are no more Sadats in the Arab world, and no other Begin in Israel. King Hussein is a shrewd survivor, but he lacks Mr. Sadat's vision and daring. Shimon Peres is a competent conciliator, but without the passion and charisma needed to mobilize the national imagination. So it is up to Mr. Begin, who is seen, even by many Israelis who detest him, as the only leader capable of moving his countrymen. One Jerusalemite who dislikes him intensely conceded bitterly last week: "He is a giant compared to the rest of them."



Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon

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I.M.F. Session Produces Some Hope of Digging Out the Needy

Avalanche of Debt Threatens Global Economy

By LEONARD SILK

TORONTO — Is the world monetary system on the brink of a catastrophe? At the annual meeting here last week of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the mood was more anxious and the warnings more dire than at any such gathering in memory.

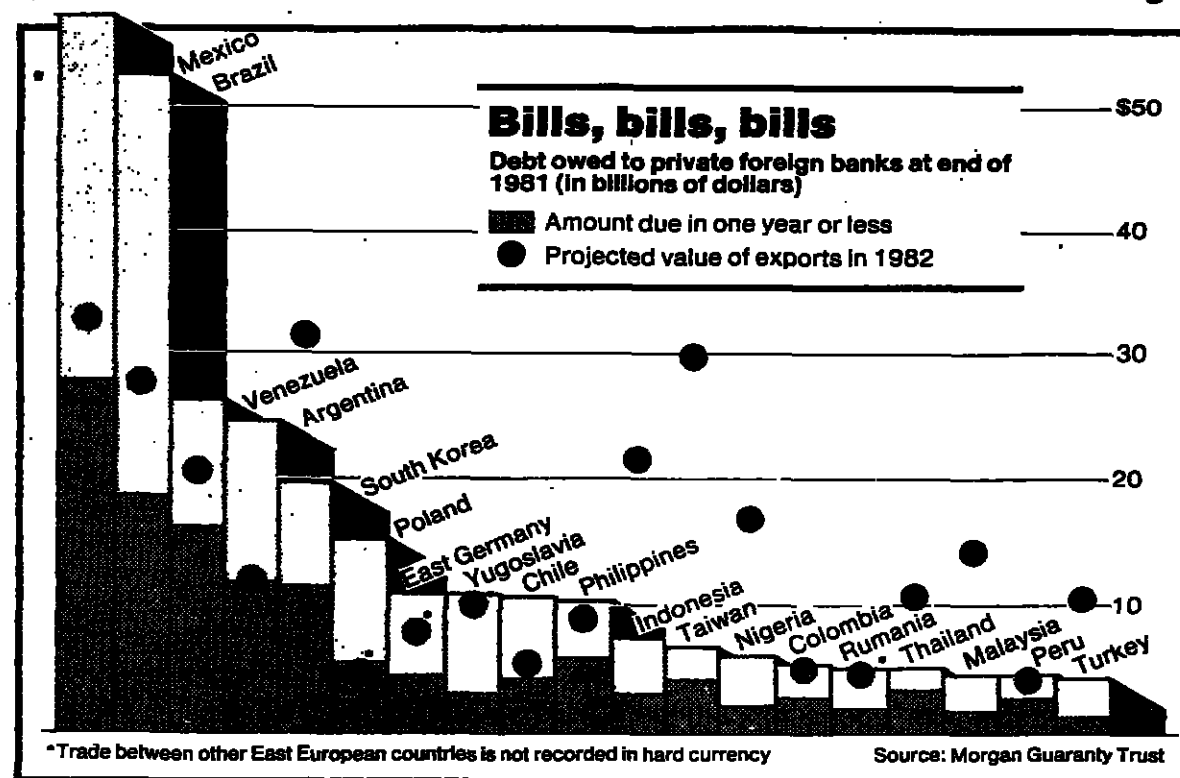
Just before the sessions began, Denis Healey, the British Labor Party's shadow Foreign Secretary and former Chancellor of the Exchequer saw the Toronto meeting of the I.M.F. as the "last chance to save the world from a catastrophe even greater than the slump of the 1930's."

Countries such as Mexico, Poland and Argentina, he warned, found it impossible to pay their existing debts, let alone raise the capital to stay afloat. Many third-world countries, he said, face the prospect of economic collapse, political anarchy and starvation, adding: "The risk of a major default triggering a chain reaction is growing every day."

But the meeting turned out to be inconclusive in one important respect: The industrialized nations put off, at least until April, deciding how much the fund's lending authority should be strengthened to help the debt-ridden countries. The United States affirmed its desire to make more resources available but differed most of the week with its partners about how much more.

Mr. Healey may have been exaggerating, but there's no doubting the seriousness of the debt problem facing many oil-importing countries in the third world. Their total debt soared from \$96.9 billion in 1973, just before the oil-price explosion induced by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, to \$436.9 billion in 1981. Estimates are that the total will rise above \$500 billion this year.

The size of a country's debts alone does not create a crisis but rather the country's inability to pay the interest and amortization on those loans. In the midst of a world slump that has cut the demand for the exports of many developing countries as well as the prices they get, a growing number of countries cannot meet those payments out of their earnings.



Indeed, that holds for some oil producers as well. Mexico, for example, borrowed like crazy from private commercial banks which were only too eager to lend on the assumption that the country's vast oil reserves and climbing world oil prices meant that its credit would always be good. But that left out of account the glut in world oil supplies, the slump in demand created by the world re-

cession, and the fiscally irresponsible and inflationary policies of the Mexican Government of President José López Portillo.

Unfortunately, the Mexican case is characteristic of a long list of countries that are as different as Argentina and Rumania, Egypt and Brazil, Poland and Chile. All share a combination of excess debt, stagnating or falling

export earnings, yawning budget deficits and a decline of domestic savings. The shortfall in savings also forces nations to seek abroad the capital they cannot raise on the domestic market.

Even if, as now seems likely, the awakened politicians and bankers are prepared to put up the funds to rescue countries from the abyss of default, the Toronto meetings left unclear just how threatening the overextension of debt is to the world economy. Nations are still facing a cruel combination of recession, unemployment, industrial overcapacity, corporate insolvency and inflation on a widespread scale. That witches' brew is already breeding growing protectionism, a trend that could cause world trade to plunge, as it did half a century ago.

The United States and other lending governments of the capitalist world, as well as Jacques de Larosière of the I.M.F. and his counterpart, A.W. Clausen, president of the World Bank, are determined not to float the world off the rocks by creating so much new debt as to generate worse inflation; and they are determined that borrowing nations take the tough steps to curb inflation, increase home savings and raise their exports as the price of getting more loans from abroad.

But too tough a line in making additional resources available to severely straining nations could cause some to refuse to cooperate, because of domestic political pressures, with the international bankers. The domestic strains could tempt some, especially the political radicals and demagogues, to regard default as preferable to submission to the I.M.F., or the capitalist countries or the private bankers. It will be important for the I.M.F. to have enough money to induce nations that want to stay solvent to work with the financial doctors. Support from private commercial banks will also be important to sustain their efforts to work their way back to growth and economic health, as part of the interdependent world economy.

In the midst of all the anxiety, some positive signs are emerging that the world can escape a fate like that of the 1930's. Very high interest rates have begun coming down in some key countries, most importantly, in the United States. Inflation rates are also coming down. In addition, the fall in oil prices is reducing the deficits of the importing countries and helping restore world balance-of-payments equilibrium.

Finally, Toronto did produce general if still not precise agreement on increasing the lending agencies' resources. Having peered into the abyss, the nations have overwhelmingly declared, "Anything but that!" But the economic game of readjustment in a world of massive debts and stretchouts of repayment of those debts will be hazardous and painful.

Guatemalans Are Adding A Few Twists to 'Pacification'



Soldiers accompany a 'civilian defense force' recruited from a small town in Guatemala to battle guerrillas. Contact / Alan Reininger

By MARLISE SIMONS

GUATEMALA — Pointing at a strategic map of Guatemala's highlands, the senior army officer could not resist boasting that Guatemala was more successful than El Salvador in combating its leftist guerrillas. "Their trouble," he said, referring to the Salvadoran armed forces, "is that they're taking too much American advice."

In contrast, with United States military aid to Guatemala suspended since 1977 because of human rights concerns, the five-month-old military regime of Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt says it has developed its own counterinsurgency strategy emphasizing food distribution, creation of "civil defense" units and an unrelenting military offensive against the Indian communities that support the

rebels. Results are encouraging, officials report.

"Early this year, we were losing," a Guatemalan colonel said. "Now the war is becoming more balanced." General Ríos Montt, who imposed a state of siege July 1 to coincide with the start of the offensive, is predicting that the guerrillas will cease to be a major problem by December.

While the main guerrilla organizations challenge this official optimism, the human cost of the campaign is already huge and is continuing to mount. "We declared a state of siege so we could kill legally," the President, a born-again Christian, told a group of eight politicians Aug. 18, according to two members of the group. "Many people are being killed, but we have also lost many officers."

Reliable estimates of the number of victims so far are hard to find, although the army reported 463 deaths in

July alone. Catholic workers and Guatemalan refugees arriving in Mexico also charge the army with responsibility for numerous massacres of Indian villagers in recent months. The country's traditionally conservative Conference of Bishops noted May 27 that "never in our history have such extremes been reached, with the assassinations now falling into the category of genocide."

The army insists that all massacres are carried out by the guerrillas and, since many Indians are executed before dawn by men dressed in civilian clothes, it is sometimes difficult to prove official responsibility. In the strategic area bordering Mexico, however, the army has sought to create a "free-fire zone" and refugees in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas assert that their villages have been attacked and burned by uniformed soldiers who landed in helicopters.

According to Guatemalan officers, their strategy has

been taken essentially from that of the guerrillas, although it also has echoes of Algeria and Vietnam. "We take the villages, put them under protection and keep them under our control," an officer said. "The Salvadorans go out on search-and-destroy missions, then leave and lose the area again."

The key to the strategy, the Guatemalan Army explains, lies in the formation of civil defense units in every community. Critics of the approach question the effectiveness of the units because, while some members join voluntarily, many do so through fear of being called subversive. Under its "beans and rifles" program, the army provides villagers and refugees with "food for work" and medical assistance.

Already, the army has begun to distribute some 4,500 tons of emergency food supplies donated by the United Nations World Food Program, while specially trained army officers using battery-powered loudspeakers work through Indian interpreters to call villagers into nearby towns "where the army will protect you." To date, some 25,000 men have been enrolled in civil defense units.

But no fundamental social reforms have taken place. "We're in the phase of pacification and survival," a senior officer said. "We can't think of serious reform plans for at least another two years."

Although Lieut. Gen. Wallace H. Nutting, head of the United States Southern Command in Panama, recently argued it was "imperative" that American military aid to Guatemala be resumed, some foreign diplomats here feel the Reagan Administration has, in fact, so far been saved the embarrassment of close identification with the blood-bath taking place in this country's highlands.

Americans Give Advice

General Ríos Montt, who at first brushed aside the suggestion of seeking American military assistance, recently said he would accept it under certain conditions. "The conditions would be that they come to give to their brothers, but not to their slaves, because we're not dogs," the President said in an interview. Guatemala's most urgent need appears to be for spare parts for its depleted military helicopter fleet.

Many officials in the State Department are also known to favor a resumption of military aid, although to date they have encountered resistance in Congress. Since the March 23 coup that toppled General Romeo Lucas García and brought General Ríos Montt to power, the American officials have repeatedly argued in public that human rights conditions have improved in Guatemala.

American diplomats in Washington and Guatemala City have also provided the Ríos Montt Government with advice on improving its reputation abroad. One Guatemalan official acknowledged he was following the American suggestion of giving greater emphasis to alleged abuses and killings by the Left. In contrast to the Lucas regime, which threatened and harassed foreign journalists, the new Government is now more accessible to diplomats and visiting correspondents. Recently, General Ríos Montt even invited the Inter-American Human Rights Commission to visit the country.

Assassination in Palermo Is the Latest Sign of New Wealth, Power and Defiance

A Modern Sicilian Mafia Stirs Rage and Fear

By HENRY KAMM

ROME — More than a week after gunmen assassinated the mafia-busting Prefect of Palermo and his wife, a massive police investigation effort has failed to turn up a single witness to the ambush, which took place in the heart of Palermo at the peak of the evening.

Because the scene of the murders is surrounded by apartment houses from which dozens of people presumably saw the shooting, omertà is assumed once again to have proved its hold in western Sicily. Omertà is the silence of terror, the muteness that results from a well-founded fear that to talk about what one has witnessed may be unwhimsy if what one has seen involves the Mafia.

The same omertà has in the past three years stymied the search for the killers of the regional President of Sicily, the regional chairman of the Communist Party, the Chief Prosecutor of Palermo, a provincial secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, the Mayor of Castelvetro, the Deputy Chief of Police of Palermo, a judge and two police investigators.

Each of the victims was engaged in the pursuit of narcotics traffickers or public-works scandals — both activities known to be jealously and murderously guarded by the Mafia for itself. Pio La Torre, the murdered Commu-

nist leader, was an outspoken opponent of the "honorable society" on the Sicilian and national scenes.

The Mafia — its name is presumed to stem from Arabic but its meaning is as secret as the society that it denotes — has since the late 1970's been more active than ever in western Sicily, where it was born.

Some students of what is called here *il fenomeno mafioso* suggest that the Italian gangsters have in recent years caught up with the modernity of their American cousins. While the original Mafia preyed on rural areas, organized crime in America was always a big-city scourge, exploiting the vice of an industrial society.

The metamorphosis in Italy began, according to Leonardo Sciascia, a noted Sicilian author, with the migration of poor Sicilians to the booming cities of Italy's North in the late 1950's. "The Mafia was again sufficiently clever to perform the great mutation of the century," Mr. Sciascia wrote. "It abandoned its sources of profit of bucolic origin and became an entrepreneur of public works, of building and housing projects."

A quantum leap in Mafia activities came in 1977, when it entered in a big way the heroin traffic to the United States. (The Mafia had been in the heroin trade before World War II but the market and profits were smaller then.) The Mafia is now believed to be supplying substantially more than one half of the heroin consumed

in the United States, raking in a profit estimated at \$500 million to \$600 million a year.

With this gigantic increase in the stakes, rivalries within the Mafia mounted, violence grew, and with it demands for government action. The carnage of public officials over the last three years was one result.

Crime Is a Watershed

The murder of Gen. Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa and his wife marks the highest stage of defiance that the Mafia's war against the state has reached, because the highly regarded police officer was sent to Palermo by Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini only last May with the mission of stamping out the Mafia. A "mafioso in retirement," writing anonymously in a Milan newspaper, described the brutal assassination of the couple as symbolic of the change from the "old" to the "new" Mafia.

"Never would that (old) Mafia have cruelly and uselessly murdered the wife of General Dalla Chiesa," he wrote. "Even more, never would that Mafia have attacked and killed the general. Offenses against symbols of authority were foreign to the methods of a Mafia that, considering itself an authority and surrogate for the state, wanted to preserve and respect certain values."

The Government clearly regards the Dalla Chiesa murder not only as a gauntlet thrown down by the Mafia

but also as a watershed in its war against the crime syndicate. General Dalla Chiesa's successor, instantly named, was sent to Palermo with far-reaching special powers, some of which were denied to his predecessor, to attack the Mafiosi in their most sensitive points — their bank accounts, stock holdings and other properties. A law specifically directed against the Mafia and its counterparts, the Camorra in the Naples region and the 'ndrangheta of Calabria is being put through Parliament. It would make mere membership in the societies a crime.

The murder of the general has also provoked public condemnation of the Mafia instead of the usual soft treading that has characterized attitudes, particularly in Sicily. This has notably been true of the local Christian Democratic Party for which the Mafia has traditionally brought out the vote. A *de facto* though no doubt temporary alliance has been forged between the Communists and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which has led the denunciations of the Mafia and the government's ineffectiveness.

The gravest charge came from Nando Dalla Chiesa, the victim's son, a sociologist close to the Communists, who alleged without showing evidence that those who ordered his father's murder are to be found in the Christian Democratic circles of Sicily. The charge was angrily denied.

Cynics among political commentators, possibly the majority, say that the Government's action will go the way of earlier official campaigns against organized crime — that is, nowhere. But for the time being, Mr. Spadolini's Government is being praised for making a long overdue good start.

BROADWAY 80

I'm glad I changed...

The Nation

In Summary

George Wallace Leads the Pack in Alabama Vote

George C. Wallace, perhaps the nation's premier segregationist not too many years ago, understands as well as anybody what it takes to win in the New South. Ever since declaring that the political sidelines weren't for him, he has been out courting Alabama blacks, apologizing for his past race-baiting ways.

The contrition may have taken. Mr. Wallace, running for an unprecedented fourth term as Governor, was



George C. Wallace

supported by nearly a third of the state's black voters in last week's Democratic primary. Altogether, Mr. Wallace, who has pledged that he would use a broad range of national and international contacts to bring new job-producing business and industry to Alabama, drew nearly 413,000 votes.

It wasn't enough to keep him out of a runoff, however. On Sept. 28, he'll face Lieut. Gov. George D.H. McMillan, who finished second, and far behind Mr. Wallace, with some 285,000 votes (including most of the other two-thirds of the black vote.) The outcome might turn on who picks up the support of the third-place candidate, Joe McCorquodale, the speaker of the Alabama House of Representatives, who attracted more than 242,000 votes.

But because of his seemingly inextinguishable popularity among whites and his so far successful bid for black support, Mr. Wallace, who is partially deaf and confined to a wheelchair as a result of bullet wounds during his 1972 Presidential race, is the early favorite. Mr. McMillan has campaigned as a progressive who would lead the state out of its economic doldrums (only Michigan has proportionately more people out of work) and into the more affluent Sun Belt mainstream.

The Republican opposition in November will be Montgomery Mayor Emory Folmar, a law-and-order hard-liner (he occasionally totes a handgun) who had no primary opposition. So far, Mr. Folmar's campaign has largely been one long embrace of Reaganomics. In one of those turns Southern politics sometimes takes, Mr. Folmar might be endorsed by Democratic Gov. Fob James, who could have run for another term but didn't.

In Florida, Bob Graham, an incumbent Democratic Governor who does want to keep his job, easily won re-nomination to a second term. His Republican opposition will be Representative L.A. Balfalis. In Arizona, Governor Bruce Babbitt, a Democrat, was nominated for another term. Mr. Babbitt's only Democratic opponent died before the election.

Buck-Passing On Asbestos

There is no doubt that asbestos-related diseases have damaged or ended the lives of thousands of workers, but who will compensate the victims or their survivors, if anybody, is less clear. Suits against two major asbestos manufacturers have been frozen by bankruptcy actions, and last week the Government strongly denied that it had any responsibility in the cases.

It was the Reagan Administration's first public statement on asbestos liability since the Manville Corporation sought protection from asbestos-related legal suits through a bankruptcy petition last month. Manville officials have contended that nearly half the suits against the industry stem from work done at Government-owned or controlled ship-

yards during World War II, and that therefore the Government ought to share responsibility. Manville and UNR Industries, which between them cited nearly 35,000 asbestos-related claims in their similar bankruptcy actions, have asked Congress to force Government contributions to a compensation fund.

A Justice Department official said the Government would settle none of the 1,200 asbestos liability cases in which it is a defendant. Assistant Attorney General J. Paul McGrath also said "there is a possibility" the Government may find Manville acted improperly in claiming that potential lawsuit costs of \$2 billion justified its plea for protection under the Federal Bankruptcy Act. The claims and counterclaims came in testimony before a House Education and Labor subcommittee studying Manville's decision to file for reorganization.

The Fourth 'R' Is for Restraint

With enrollments dwindling and government aid harder to come by, school systems everywhere are financially strapped. Consequently, union officials say, teachers aren't pressing as hard for substantial wage increases this year and won't be as quick to hit the bricks.

"With the economy so depressed, there is a feeling of helplessness," said Howard Carroll, a spokesman for the National Education Association, which represents about 1.7 million teachers. "There's an attitude of 'play it cool, stay in the foxhole.'"

Here and there, however, teachers were taking their chances on the front lines. By the end of last week, more than 10,000 in systems scattered about five states — Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey — were on strike, delaying classes for about 180,000 pupils. And in Detroit, where teachers have been asked to accept over \$25 million in concessions, negotiations were at a standstill late in the week.

Teachers union spokesmen estimated that nationwide between 50,000 and 55,000 fewer teachers will have jobs in the 1982-83 school year. However, a private information-gathering organization, the Bureau of National Affairs, said that according to its survey only 6,500 teachers have been laid off. Meanwhile, the National Center for Education Statistics estimated that more than a half-million fewer students will be trooping off to classrooms this fall. While college enrollments were expected to reach an all-time high — up 100,000 to 12.5 million — high school enrollments were likely to dip by 450,000 and elementary and junior high school enrollments by 200,000.

'White Flight' Effect Doubtful

After court-mandated busing got under way in 1973, many white pupils transferred out of Cleveland's public school system. However, according to a review of the effects of the program, a clear majority of the transfers apparently weren't part of a white flight that critics say is the inevitable result of busing.

The review was undertaken by a special office created by Federal District Judge Frank J. Battisti, who ordered the busing. While skeptics might question the objectivity of the report, it appears to have been undertaken with extraordinary thoroughness. Among other things, Everett Cataldo, a professor of political science at Cleveland State University, the report's author, examined the reasons for every transfer out of public schools between 1968 and 1980.

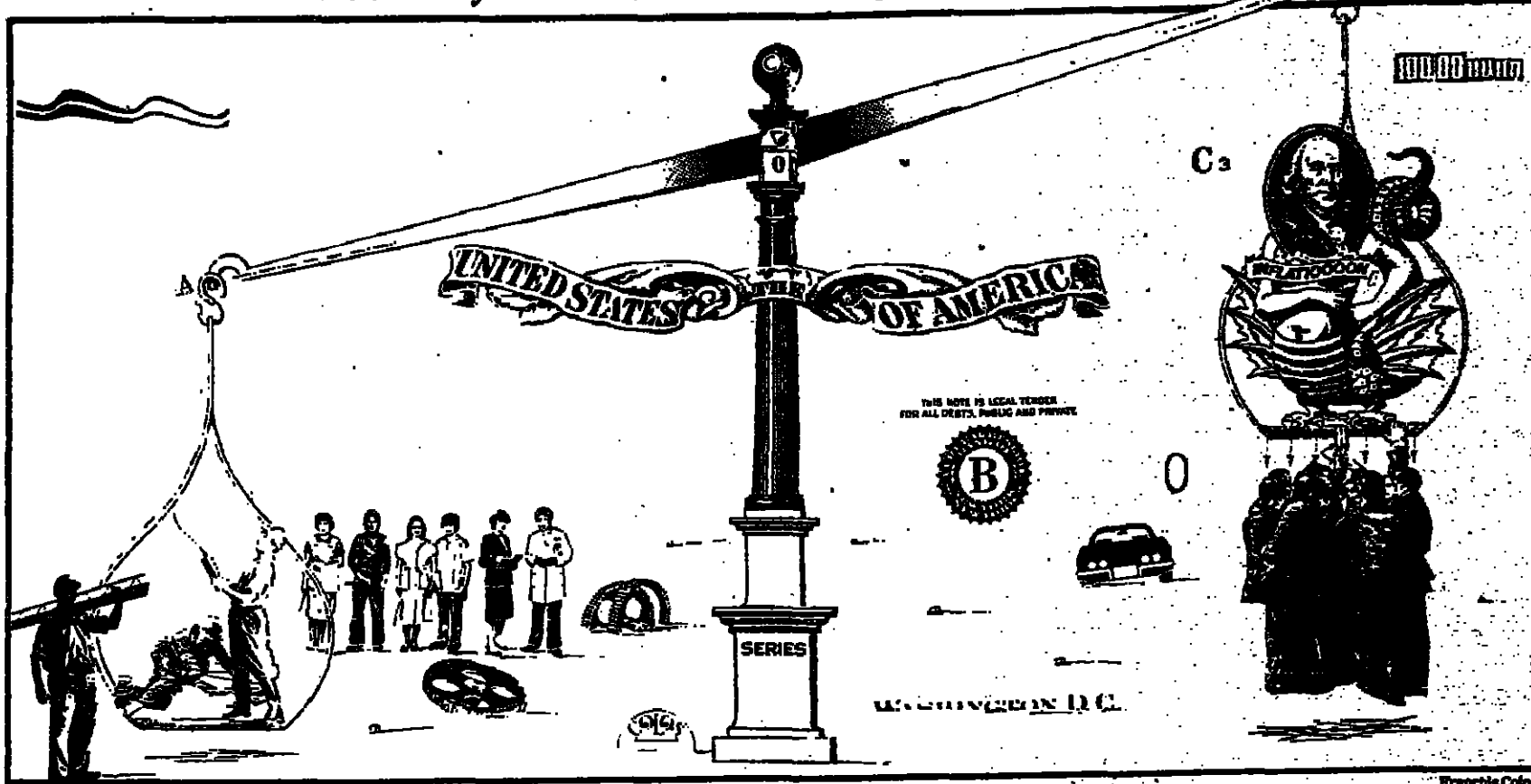
Altogether, enrollment dropped from 92,500 in 1979 to 75,800 last year; the percentage of white pupils in the schools declined from 32.4 percent in 1973 to 25.6 percent in 1981. But the report — issued by the Office of School Monitoring and Community Relations — concluded that no more than 41 percent of the whites who had left the city schools had done so because of the desegregation program and that some suburban districts lost proportionately more students than the city. Shrinking birth rates and the lure of suburbia had already contributed to a decline of white enrollments in the city system a decade or so before the busing began, the report noted.

And in more recent years, strikes by teachers and police and the city's fiscal difficulties might have prompted many white families to move.

"Politicians and advocates who oppose school desegregation by contending that it results in all-black school systems now have to deal with one study from one district that says otherwise," said Leonard B. Stevens, director of the Office of School Monitoring. "The next time somebody testifies before a Congressional committee that court-ordered school desegregation always and inevitably causes large-scale white flight, I hope somebody on the committee will pick up the report and say, 'What about Cleveland?'"

Caroline Rand Herron,
Michael Wright
and Carlyle C. Douglas

Recovery Would Revive Wage-Price Pressures



Fighting Inflation Is Uphill All the Way

By EDWARD COWAN

WASHINGTON — Embarrassed by ballooning budget deficits and record postwar unemployment, the Administration has one solid economic achievement — successfully squeezing inflation — and no doubt will make the most of it on behalf of Republican candidates this fall.

Inflation has come down faster than seemed possible when Ronald Reagan was sworn in 20 months ago, but at a price — a crunching recession with heavy losses of jobs and corporate profits and consequently Federal revenues. Some critics, and not all of them Democratic politicians or labor leaders, suggest the battle against inflation was carried to an extreme.

"We've been fighting the wrong dragon since the beginning of the year," Edward Jefferson, chairman of the DuPont Company, says. "The problem was not inflation but the wasting of the economy, getting the economy running again." With interest rates still high despite some cautious Federal Reserve action to ease them, the prognosis for recovery is guarded. The latest figures, Data Resources Inc. said last week, pointed to "a long bottoming-out process." The absence of clear signs of recovery was underscored last week by the Commerce Department's report that despite the inducements of last year's Reagan tax cut business has again scaled down planned capital investment.

On inflation, however, progress has been dramatic. The improvement was reflected in Friday's report of a moderate August rise of six-tenths of one percent in the producer price index for finished goods and slight declines for raw materials and semi-finished goods. The finished goods index, a clue to retail price trends, stood 4 percent higher than a year ago, half the rate of gain recorded a year ago.

Early in 1981, the basic inflation rate was 9 percent to 10 percent, with the Consumer Price Index charging along at an even faster clip. There had

been some slowdown since early 1980, when a temporary burst of the C.P.I., approaching a 20 percent annual rate, had forced President Carter to tear up his budget and impose credit controls. But double-digit inflation was still a worrisome reality, a threat to the well-being of the jobless and the employed, pensioners and investors. Since January 1981, the basic inflation rate (and the C.P.I.) has come down to roughly 6 to 7 percent. Some analysts are optimistic that further progress can be made even if the overdue rebound from the 1981-82 recession is starting.

Still, progress will be slow. In 1983, according to a tabulation of 43 forecasts, consumer price inflation will slip to 5.9 percent, from 6.2 percent this year. By 1984, some forecasters say, there could be some resurgence, if sustained recovery occurs. "We have the potential for reducing the inflation rate by about a point a year without any significant real costs," said William A. Niskanen, acting chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

The Reasons for Moderation

Mr. Niskanen estimated that squeezing one percentage point a year out of the inflation rate was compatible with 3 percent average economic growth, with "an upside of 4 or 5 percent for a year or two." The Administration takes the monetarist view, which emphasizes excessive money supply growth as the cause of inflation. The more conventional approach sees the money supply as one of several causes. Taking a pluralistic tack, Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates lists the following reasons for expecting "moderate inflation."

• An absence "well into 1984" of shortages of labor and production capacity. Factories now have more than 30 percent of their facilities idle.

• Abundant wheat and corn harvests, and large carryover stocks, will keep grain prices low. Citibank calculates corn prices are down 27 percent from 1981, wheat down 8 percent.

• With oil supplies tending to outstrip consumption and more production being developed, energy

prices will be moderate "at least until 1984," says Wharton. Oil prices are likely to rise less than inflation for several years, Mr. Niskanen adds, though "we can have a shock at any time," such as a shutdown of production in Iraq or Iran.

• Finally, labor-cost "pressures have been moderating," as employers pare wage and benefit increases.

The rebound in productivity normally associated with recoveries would also help hold down costs. So will labor's caution. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the stresses of import competition and recession have been such that nearly three-fifths of the 1.9 million workers covered by major collective bargaining settlements reached so far this year "will receive no specific wage increase" except what may come from cost-of-living formulas. More than 90 percent of these workers are in hard-hit autos and trucking. (The United Auto Workers, negotiating with Chrysler this weekend against a Tuesday midnight contract expiration, signed new contracts with the other car companies earlier this year.)

The wage slowdown has occurred also among nonunion workers, who are 80 percent of the labor force. The Labor Department's employment cost index for private nonfarm workers showed a 1.3 percent rise in the spring, down from 1.9 percent in 1981.

Not least, mortgage interest rates have started to decline. That may not mean much to families outside the housing market, but it helps to hold down the Consumer Price Index, at least until rents are substituted for home purchase costs in January. Lower interest rates also mean cost relief for business.

Temperamentally, the Reagan Administration, having involved mandatory price and wage controls, was striving to haul the inflation rate below 3 percent. Not even the determinedly bullish Reagan Administration economic forecast of July held out the prospect of 3 percent inflation in the foreseeable future. Its best hope was 5.4 percent in 1987.

Broadcasts to Cuba Stir Controversy Even Before They Begin

Radio Finds a Place in Reagan's Foreign Policy

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

WASHINGTON — Radio, for better or worse a powerful instrument of social change in much of this century, has been rediscovered as an instrument of foreign policy by the Reagan Administration.

The current debate over Radio Martí, the proposed AM station that the Government would use to beam news and features to Cuba, has come to symbolize the Administration's interest in aggressive broadcasting, particularly in the Caribbean and Central America. "Radio," an official said, "has an effectiveness transcending bullets, missiles, cocktail parties and shuttle diplomacy."

Though radio is regarded as a rather commonplace means of communications in an age of fiber optics and microprocessors, the White House has come to believe that the medium's potentials have been largely neglected, if not misused, in recent years. Now, says one senior agency aide, Radio Martí "may become one of the cutting edges of American foreign policy."

Radio Martí, which the House of Representatives approved by a nearly 2-to-1 margin earlier this summer, represents the Administration's major impulse in conducting foreign policy over the airwaves. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved the proposal last week, but Radio Martí, which would cost less than \$10 million a year and would be staffed by fewer than 200 people, still faces a formidable obstacle: the threat of the Castro regime to disrupt or jam its broadcasts.

The Administration has already stepped up its ideological campaign, with the Voice of America airing its first editorials June 1. Last month, an editorial commented on Cuba's "unnatural alliance with the Soviet Union and the Communist world" and, in a reference to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, said that Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader, "has eagerly taken on the task of Soviet surrogate in places far distant from Cuba." In an editorial on what it called Nicaragua's "systematic campaign of repression against organized religion," Voice of America remarked: "It becomes even more clear that the Sandinistas consider any independent religious institution a challenge to their power. That could be the first step down a long and infamous road — one too often traveled by authoritarian governments — to turn the churches into organs of state control."

Late last month, the Cuban Government, perhaps programming a preview of things to come, flexed its own broadcast muscles, transmitting news and music programs on five AM frequencies

and disrupting the programming of at least two clear-channel stations in the United States. If anything, however, these broadcasts, which were taken as a warning from Havana, prompted supporters of Radio Martí to stiffen their determination to carry on. "Our signal will reach Cuba with or without the efforts of the people of Cuba," said former Senator Richard B. Stone of Florida, vice chairman of the Presidential Commission on Radio Broadcasting to Cuba, which developed the plans for Radio Martí. "All of this is creating a lot of interest in Radio Martí in Cuba. It's like putting a big sign in front of a theater: 'This is a phenomenal show, but you can't come in.'"

Mr. Stone and many of those who support an aggressive radio offensive say that such a policy is required to combat the restraints on the flow of information in nations like Cuba. "There is a news blackout inside Cuba," Mr. Stone said, "and we want to provide the missing information." Others point to the testimony of defecting Polish citizens and to Solidarity leaders, who repeatedly stressed the importance of the link to the West provided by Radio Free Europe, and remark that, as one senior foreign-policy official put it, "This is one of the most important diplomatic or political weapons the United States has in its arsenal."

Charles Z. Wick, who heads the United States Information Agency, believes that radio can produce foreign-policy results that even the most sophisticated contemporary arms cannot. "The weapons of hardware are a needed deterrent, but you can't do anything positive with them," Mr. Wick said. "The weapons of ideas are our only viable alternative. We're trying to increase the only available tool we have to persuade others of the benefits of a free society."

Much of the focus of radio diplomacy has been Central America and the Caribbean, an area that many American analysts agree is particularly well-suited to such activity. "In Nicaragua, you can still affect what happens by information," said Allen Weinstein, a Georgetown University professor who accompanied a delegation of American journalists to Nicaragua in March. "There may be a chance to tip the balance. Just the act of providing information might be of use to democratic forces in the country or outside it. The edge their opponents have is that they have information."

Some of those involved in the debate over Radio Martí wonder if the Administration is at least as interested in presenting a challenge to Mr. Castro as it is in providing news to the Cuban people themselves. "I find it's rather frightening to talk to a lot of these people in the Administration," said Robert H. Harter, chairman of Palmer Communications Inc., whose station, WHO Radio in



Charles Z. Wick, head of the United States Information Agency.

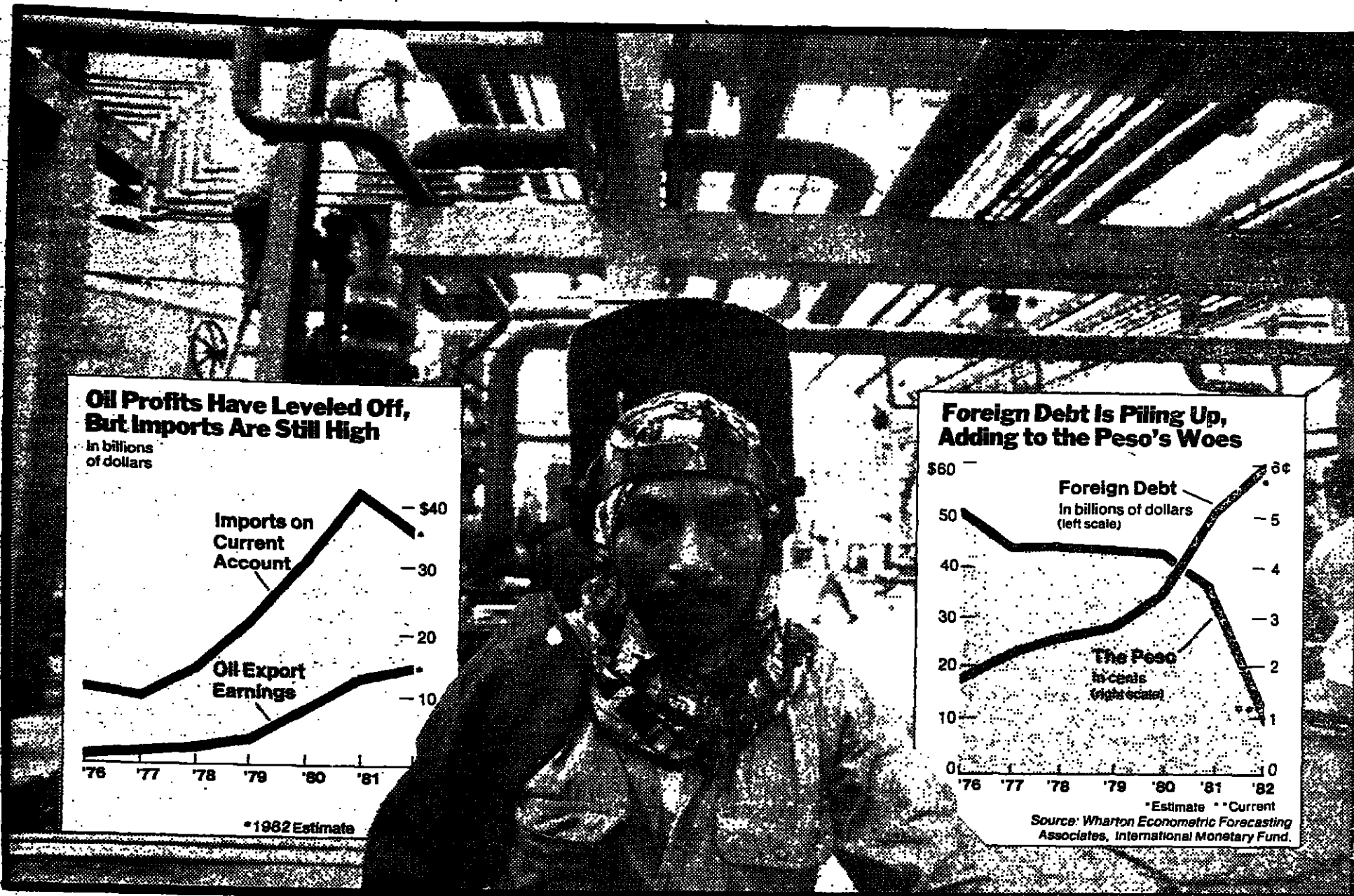
Des Moines, became vulnerable to jamming because it operates on the frequency chosen for Radio Martí. "They almost seem to want to provoke an incident with Cuba."

Many analysts point out that the Voice of America already reaches 19 Latin American nations with its Spanish and Portuguese programming. They warn, moreover, that the stepped-up American broadcast offensive could generate considerable ideological static. "The fact is that the Cubans see Radio Martí against a background of past efforts to get at them — the Bay of Pigs, assassination threats, clandestine C.I.A. radio stations," said Wayne Smith, who resigned his post in July as the head of the American Interest Section in Cuba. "They see it as part of an aggressive destabilization campaign."

هكذا من الأصل

Taming Mexico's Passion for More

The Economy



A worker at a big Mexican oil refinery in Veracruz

Betrayed by its reliance on oil, the nation is struggling to pay back its debts and change its ways.

By ALAN RIDING

MEXICO CITY
It was barely five years ago that oil arrived like a beautiful dark temptress to lead Mexico out of an economic slump and along the path of rapid growth. But betrayal lay ahead. And when oil prices fell last year, Mexico stumbled headlong into its worst financial crisis in memory.

Yet the temptress is still around and many believe that Mexico has no choice but to turn to her again. Already oil is being pumped out of the ground and shipped abroad as fast as possible, and it is only the assurance of some \$16 billion in oil revenues next year that has kept the world's bankers from declaring Mexico in default on its enormous foreign debt, both public and private, of \$80 billion.

President José López Portillo, who led Mexico into the trap set by oil, strongly rejects the idea that his country is tied inextricably to its oil resources. "Our economy is not petrified," he insisted in his final State of the Union address on Sept. 1. But the numbers are clear, and what they show is an economy dominated by oil — nearly 75 percent of the country's export earnings come from petroleum.

Despite the disarray this dominance has caused, oil may be the only way to prevent Mexico's economic stumble from turning into a disaster. Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, who takes over as President on Dec. 1, hopes that, after at least two years of austerity, oil will provide a vehicle for a more modest and rational rate of expansion in Mexico.

Oil would never again generate the 8 to 9 percent economic growth rates of recent years. Nor would oil's gyrations bring the nation's growth to a grinding halt, as they did this year. "The 8 percent growth rates are gone forever," one aide to the incoming President said. "We have to end the cycles of boom and bust."

Nothing would be welcomed more by the country's

creditors, who are anxiously waiting for Mexico to get its house in order. At meetings in Toronto last week of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, most of Mexico's bankers expressed frustration over Mr. López Portillo's reluctance to accept any belt-tightening measures.

But both government and private lenders to Mexico, who say they will not provide badly needed additional funds until the country agrees to a program of economic austerity, expect Mr. De la Madrid to be more flexible. Others say there is also reason to believe that Mexico will overcome its seemingly insurmountable problems — a 63 percent decline in the value of the peso since February, an inflation rate exceeding 100 percent and a foreign debt that is the highest in the developing world.

The hope, they argue, lies in the fact that the country's economy is essentially strong. It has impressive petrochemical, steel, fertilizer and electricity industries, most consumer goods are now locally made and even self-sufficiency in basic grains seems within reach. Perhaps more importantly, Mexico has displayed the confidence and determination needed to transform itself from a rural society to an emerging industrial power. The real challenge is to end the addiction to oil and to learn the secret of managing growth.

For now, though, Mexico has become, almost overnight, a fortress economy. Crucial imports were reduced to a minimum to protect declining foreign exchange reserves. And, while dollars are available at rates ranging from 50 to 70 pesos, in practice currency for foreign travel

is now available only on the black market. The country's lonely lifeline to the world is the state oil monopoly, Petróleos Mexicanos, which is exporting around 1.7 million barrels daily. Yet even its earnings stay abroad to help cover interest payments.

But, while Mexico's financial bubble has already burst, dangerous economic and social problems are only now appearing. The momentum of the boom kept economic activity alive until June, but now the slump is spreading to business sales and profits and, more critically, to employment.

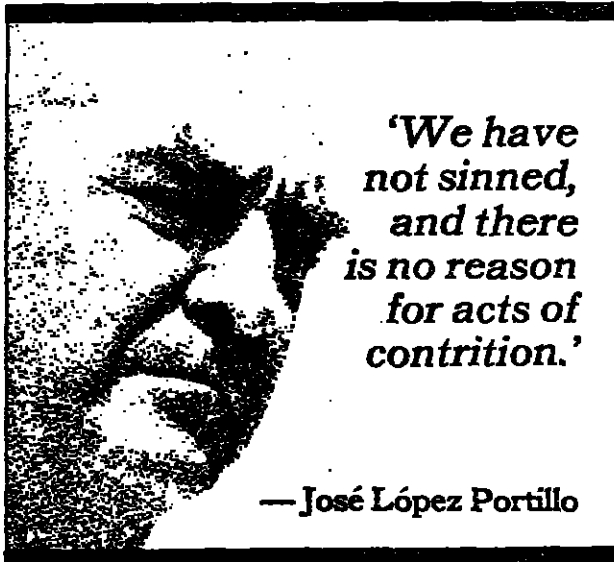
Between 1978 and 1981, the Government claimed that four million jobs were created, now many of these jobs are threatened. Some, above all in the construction industry, have already been lost, while manufacturing companies operating at 40 percent of capacity are sending more workers home each week. Next year, when the economy is expected to record a negative growth rate, things will be worse.

Even during the good times, inflation eroded the real wages of many workers and peasants and, for them, the outlook is for hardship and even hunger. Just last month the price of corn tortillas and bread doubled overnight. The middle classes are also feeling the squeeze of unemployment and inflation. Having enjoyed a consumer boom over the past four years, they are now seething at the prospect of a lower standard of living. For them, the newly acquired habit of foreign travel has suddenly become an inaccessible luxury.

In the business world, so recently awash in profits, the mood is no more optimistic. Many companies are quietly going bankrupt, particularly those that must suddenly generate three times more pesos to pay dollar-denominated debts. The fate of Mexico's largest private company, the Alfa Industrial Group, a conglomerate that was built around steel production, is a reminder of mortality: It owes \$2.3 billion abroad that it cannot pay. American and other foreign companies, in contrast, borrowed more wisely. While balance sheets back home will reflect the Mexican slump, they seem better equipped to ride out the storm.

The crisis nevertheless offers the opportunity to repair the economy. During the boom, the Government kept many inefficient companies highly profitable through indirect state subsidies and captive markets. At the time, it seemed politically impossible to let them sink; now it is financially impossible to keep them afloat.

Much depends, though, on the policies of the incoming De la Madrid Administration. As in the past, the Government, which controls half the country's gross domestic product, will remain the main motor of growth. And now, following the nationalization of the entire banking system, it can easily shape the development profile. But while Mr.



'We have not sinned, and there is no reason for acts of contrition.'

— José López Portillo

WEEK IN BUSINESS

The Bendix Takeover Battle Intensifies

United Technologies joined Martin Marietta in the move to take over Bendix, intensifying the takeover struggle. Martin Marietta said that about 14.5 million, or 75 percent, of Bendix shares outstanding, were tendered under its offer. Earlier, Bendix said it had received 58 percent of Martin's shares. Bendix has accused Citibank, the trustee of the Bendix Salaried Employee Savings and Stock Ownership Plan, with acting wrongfully in tendering 4.5 million shares to Martin Marietta.

Mexico announced broad monetary reforms and created a two-tier exchange rate for the peso. Bankers said Mexico, which has asked the I.M.F. for \$4.5 billion, is probably moving toward a debt restructuring.

I.M.F. representatives at the organization's joint meeting in Toronto with the World Bank said increased funding to help debt-ridden nations is needed soon to assure the stability of the international financial system.

The House and Senate overrode the Presidential veto of a \$14.1 billion supplemental spending bill, giving President Reagan his first major budget defeat.

The French franc slumped to a new low against the dollar, trading at 7.085

Paley's Exit From CBS

William S. Paley (right), who founded CBS in 1928 and led the company through the next 54 years as it became a giant communications conglomerate, said he would resign next April 30. Mr. Paley, who will be succeeded as chairman by CBS's president and chief executive, Thomas H. Wyman, had forced the resignations of three previous executives whom he had selected as heirs apparent. Mr. Paley, 81, will become a partner in the Whitcomb Investment Company, owner of Whitney Communications, but will remain on CBS's board as executive committee chairman. He will keep his 7 percent stake in CBS, which is worth an estimated \$74 million.



francs to the dollar Friday, adding to fears that President Mitterrand may be forced to devalue the currency for the third time since taking office 15 months ago.

Capital spending for 1982 will decline 4.4 percent after inflation, from the level in 1981, the Commerce Department projected. The drop was sharper than the 2.4 percent drop fore-

cast in June, and the 1 percent predicted in March.

U.S. trade sanctions were imposed against John Brown, a British company that defied the U.S. ban on technology for a Soviet gas pipeline. Britain ordered two more pipeline suppliers to ignore the ban.

The nation's money supply rose \$300

million in the week ending Sept. 1, to \$457.1 billion, the Federal Reserve Board said. For the month, M-2, a broader money supply measure, soared \$22.8 billion in August.

Producer prices rose 0.6 percent in August — the same rate as in July — for an annual adjusted rate of 7.5 percent, the Labor Department said.

The Dow Jones Industrial average closed at 906.82 on Friday, down 18.31 for the week.

RCA named Robert R. Frederick as president and chief operating officer. Mr. Frederick, a career employee of General Electric, was seen as a likely successor to Thornton F. Bradshaw, chairman and chief executive.

Consumer debt rose by only \$570 million in July, the smallest rise since February, the Federal Reserve said.

The Canadian Government will not bail out Dome Petroleum, Prime Minister Trudeau said, but he did not rule out the possibility of providing guarantees in a debt restructuring.

Saxon Industries and three officers were accused by the S.E.C. of scheming to falsify company books.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED SEPT. 10, 1982

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chng

Fed N B 8,471,600 12% - 1/2

IBM 4,279,000 71% - 1/2

Exxon 3,948,000 29% + %

Wm Cm 3,071,900 40% + 4

Supr Oil 2,720,500 30 + 2 1/2

Sony Cp 2,277,800 12% - 1 1/2

ATT 2,168,400 54% - 1 1/2

G Mot 2,102,300 48 - 1 1/2

Mobil 2,064,700 25% + 1/2

Citibank 2,048,000 23% - 1 1/2

Bendix 2,048,300 59 + 1/2

St Oil Cl 1,968,900 30% - 1 1/2

U Oil Cal 1,938,300 28% + 1 1/2

Tandy 1,862,700 36% + 1 1/2

Merr Ly 1,810,500 36 - 1 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances 899 1,500

Declines 966 448

Total Issues 2,109 2,135

New Highs 284 459

New Lows 12 16

VOLUME

(4 P.M. New York Close)

Total Sales 291,074,720 9,881,774,222

Same Per. 1981 180,819,863 8,298,127,712

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High Low Last Change

New York Stock Exchange

Indust 80.74 78.89 79.35 -0.78

Transp 62.95 61.21 61.32 -1.45

Util 40.54 39.71 39.78 -0.80

Finance 68.59 67.28 67.43 -1.16

Composite 70.56 69.07 69.41 -0.85

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust 138.8 133.9 135.6 -1.77

20 Transp 21.0 20.0 20.4 -0.08

40 Util 57.3 55.3 55.6 -1.40

40 Financial 13.5 13.0 13.2 -0.28

500 Stocks 123.8 119.5 120.9 -1.71

Dow Jones

30 Indust 928.3 897.0 908.8 -18.31

20 Transp 379.2 362.4 369.6 -0.08

15 Util 117.9 114.0 114.4 -2.51

65 Comb 361.7 350.8 354.1 -5.35

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED SEPT. 10, 1982

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chng

DomeP 3,413,300 3% + 9-16

Wang B 886,200 37% - %

GldFld 588,100 1% - %

Mindq 422,300 9-16

AtmCm 420,900 2% - %

AlskAir 394,500 7 + %

Amhrl 372,000 24% + %

Bradt 346,800 12% + %

ChmpH 272,800 3% - %

TIE 272,300 21% + 1%

MARKET DIARY

Advances 363 504

Declines 381 283

Total Issues 916 920

New Highs 83 90

New Lows 16 15

VOLUME

(4 P.M. New York Close)

Total Sales 22,586,785 763,902,305

Same Per. 1981 21,809,050 987,587,155

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE D. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
SEYMOUR TOWSE, Managing Editor
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor
MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor
JACK ROSENTHAL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor
CHARLOTTE CURTIS, Associate Editor
TOM WICKER, Associate Editor
JOHN D. POMFRET, Exec. VP, General Manager
DONALD A. NEWMAN, S. VP, Consumer Marketing
LANCE R. PRIMUS, S. VP, Advertising
J. A. RIGGS JR., S. VP, Operations
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, VP, Controller
ELISE J. ROSS, VP, Systems

Hang on to Westway

The Westway controversy has dragged on for so long there must be half a generation of New Yorkers that knows little about the exciting original plan, save that "progressive" people are against it: Westway is a \$2 billion boondoggle cooked up by the highway lobby that threatens the quality of life in New York. Why build this grotesquely expensive ribbon of concrete when the money could be salvaged for badly needed improvements in subways and other mass transit?

For a decade, opponents have portrayed the Hudson-shore Westway as a symbol of cars prevailing over clean air and bureaucrats and profiteers destroying neighborhoods. They received a psychological boost last June, when a Federal judge stopped construction because the Army Corps of Engineers had failed to weigh the project's potential effect on striped bass in the river. That setback led supporters of Westway, including this page, to wonder how long even a worthy fight is worth waging.

Yet the fact remains that the case for Westway has never been better. Built to current specifications, it would create a valuable waterfront park for western Manhattan, and relieve serious traffic congestion and pollution. A "trade-in" of the Federal subsidy for mass transit aid, on the other hand, would provide little or no additional money for buses and subways.

Nor is there reason yet to conclude that Westway can be delayed into oblivion. The judge's objections addressed procedure, not substance. If the Corps of Engineers does its job, construction could resume early next year.

In the view of the Federal Government, Westway is a short, expensive road, one of the last links in the interstate highway system. In the view of its justifiably proud designers, it is a massive urban development project masquerading as a highway.

To be sure, the below-ground and underwater road would be a highway, diverting trucks that turn the avenues of the West Side into filthy, dangerous thoroughfares. But it would also create several hundred acres of riverfront land, much of it dedicated to parks. As a bonus, it would yield a new incinerator and bus garage for the city, and also remove the abandoned piers that now rot into the Hudson.

All this would come guaranteed free to the city — 90 percent of the money from the Interstate Highway Trust Fund. The fund can't afford every road that every Congressman would build. But its revenue source, the Federal fuel tax, should provide more than enough to finish the interstates. The remaining cost of Westway, including maintenance for the park and road, would be an obligation of New York State. In fact, the city stands to gain \$100 million through the sale of the right-of-way to the state.

Why, then, all this emotional opposition? Some people just hate cars and the people who drive them. Others fear for riverfront neighborhoods that would actually be enhanced. The most persistent and mis-

leading arguments flow from the mirage of a "trade-in."

Federal law gives the city and state the option to "trade-in" the Westway money and use a portion of it — perhaps as much as \$1.5 billion — for other federally approved highway and mass transit projects. A poor city, it is said, should settle for hamburger highway instead of filet mignon and do something for suffering folks underground.

If Congress could indeed be counted on to honor such a commitment at a time of budget distress, that option might at least deserve debate. Trade-in money would not, of course, create any parks or other riverfront development. And someone other than the Feds would have to come up with \$100 million to repay the state for the right-of-way, \$25 million to demolish the piers, \$76 million to build the incinerator and \$28 million to finish the bus garage. A less fancy surface road would, in the city's estimate, cost \$700 million to \$800 million. But mass transit would be left with a few hundred million.

The risks of winding up with even less than that, however, are considerable. Although the law says mass transit projects can be substituted for interstates, it does not guarantee the trade-in subsidy. Interstate highways are "entitlements," funded with dedicated fuel taxes. Trade-in money must come from general revenues — the same pot that pays for cruise missiles and Medicaid and a thousand other programs. There are already \$5.8 billion in approved trade-in projects waiting for funds. Yet when pressed to trim the budget this year, Congress gave the cities on line a total of only \$550 million.

It is possible, of course, that lobbyists for cruise missiles and Medicaid will generously step aside for highway trade-ins. It is also possible that nations will beat swords into plowshares and lions will lie down with lambs. In this world, the Westway trade-in money would dribble in — \$30 million one year, \$20 million the next. That would be barely enough to build a modest substitute road — provided it passes clean-air muster and years of protest from neighborhoods that would be permanently cut off from the waterfront. It takes fantastic faith to believe that much would ever be left for mass transit.

Even so, some Westway supporters have faltered in their resolve because the deadline for trade-in applications is only a year away. If the courts delay Westway much longer, New York could wind up with nothing.

But Congress may extend the trade-in deadline for projects delayed by court injunctions. Or an appeals court may liberate Westway as soon as next month. Even the judge who stopped it, Thomas Griesa, seems unwilling to stall the project to death. His decision to appoint a special master to speed the procedural debate suggests just the opposite.

Westway on its merits is a splendid project. It looks even better when you consider the alternatives. It still deserves vigorous support.

The Road From Fez

The Arab League summit at Fez 10 months ago, to consider a Saudi plan for peace with states that were whispered to include Israel, broke up after four hours. The P.L.O. gagged on the idea, and shot it down. One year later, the conference reconvened last week and, in four days, gave the Saudis the benefit of Israel's victory. The routed P.L.O. was persuaded to endorse U.N. "guarantees [of] peace among all states." Diplomats perceive this as progress. If it is, the peace is dangerously slow.

The Arabs' formal declaration at Fez is promising only in that it did not reject President Reagan's formula for a Palestinian entity linked to Jordan. The demands for an independent state and the redivision of Jerusalem are no more helpful than Prime Minister Begin's vow never to cede any part of the West Bank.

One essential change was at least implied by Fez II: that all the Arabs save Libya now recognize diplomacy, and not force, as the only way to win a place for the Palestinians. Mr. Reagan's shrewd and timely proposals helped them to understand, as Egypt came to understand, that sympathetic Americans are indispensable to a settlement. Terrorism and anti-Americanism just won't do.

Yet a crucial illusion persists. Peace with Israel cannot be negotiated only with America. The Arabs

can delay Israel's "recognition" to a later stage, pretend that it is for them to confer its "right to exist" and compose impossible opening positions for bargaining. But they will waste a favorable moment, in American and Israeli as well as Palestinian politics, if they do not offer to meet with Israel at last.

After 34 years of conflict, which produced an offer of coexistence only from Egypt, the Israelis will never trust whispered recognitions or security arrangements drawn in Washington. Nor should they. Their acceptance in the Middle East, and a proper concern for their safety, have to be demonstrated. The more dramatically that is done, the more generous will be their response.

President Sadat brilliantly grasped this reality. That is why the most important news from Fez may be the off-the-record decision to revoke the League's expulsion of Egypt for the crime of making peace. Equally important can be the League's follow-up mission to seek American advice on next steps.

Its delegation will have to be told that procedure is now as important as substance. Jordan and the Palestinians have to offer direct negotiation with Israel. And along with the Saudi leaders of this search for a new path, they have to acknowledge that they want it to lead to a formal treaty of peace.

Letters

At the Heart of the Palestine Issue

To the Editor:

It is commendable that The Times has taken cognizance of the historical links between Jordan and the Palestinian issue (news article Sept. 1), but it is regrettable that in doing so it printed some half-truths that confuse rather than clarify the issue.

The League of Nations did not divide Palestine along the Jordan River. The British did, in violation of their Mandate over all of Palestine, east and west of the Jordan River. The League merely ratified that action, which was then *fait accompli*. Consequently, the "legitimacy" of Jordanian sovereignty over its substantial segment of Palestine rests upon British infidelity to Mandatory obligations.

Israelis do not merely "say" that Jordan illegally occupied and annexed the West Bank and Jerusalem's Old City in 1949-50. This is a historical fact. Jordan (following the British precedent) acted unilaterally, violating the U.N. partition of the remainder of Palestine into a Jewish and a Palestinian state. Its invasion and conquest of the West Bank had no legal justification. Then, and since, Jordan — comprising two-thirds of Palestine, with a Palestinian majority population — thwarted Palestinian autonomy and self-determination.

The Palestinian problem is, ultimately, a Jordanian problem. A consistent U.S. approach, morally and historically, would be to treat King Hussein as though he were Prime

Minister Begin. Or could there be a double-standard at work? In any event, accurate journalism will help to clarify the link between a Palestinian homeland and Jordan.

JEROLD S. AUERBACH
Chairman, Department of History
Wellesley College
Wellesley, Mass., Sept. 1, 1982

One Jerusalem

To the Editor:

You reworked President Reagan's proposal that "Jerusalem must remain undivided, but its final status should be decided through negotiations" into a promise of "a thinly disguised Israeli dominion over all of Jerusalem" (editorial Sept. 3).

The Israeli takeover of Jerusalem and the recent shift of its Government there have already alienated Egypt from the Camp David process. Thus, your interpretation of Reagan's statement cannot qualify as "A Summons to Middle East Moderates" to prepare for peace negotiations.

Jerusalem is a holy place to Moslems as well as to Christians and Jews. Yes, "Jerusalem must remain undivided," but not necessarily as a political city. The opportunity has arrived to finally negotiate the establishment of Jerusalem as an ecclesiastical or international city.

G. Q. VICARY
Cambridge, Mass., Sept. 3, 1982

Very Real Progress On Nuclear Waste

To the Editor:

Your Sept. 2 editorial on nuclear waste confirms our view that the technology already exists for safe disposal. Why, then, do you question Congress's ability to pass legislation this year creating a rational, programmatic institutional framework for getting on with the job?

The Administration is confident that, despite previous failures, Congress will pass a bill this session establishing a workable system for commercial waste. I have assurances from the leadership in the House that scheduling a floor vote will be one of the highest priorities when Congress comes back to work on Sept. 8.

Nuclear waste is a bipartisan matter, the settlement of which is in the interest of all Americans. Between now and the year 2000, under the pending legislation, utilities will make advance payments totaling up to \$25 billion to fund the entire cost of our national program well into the next century. There will be no Federal expenditures.

That is something more than the mere "paper progress" your editorial suggests we are making here in Washington.

JAMES B. EDWARDS
Secretary of Energy
Washington, Sept. 8, 1982

10,000-Year 'Folly'

To the Editor:

"Nuclear Policy for 10,000 Years," the headline on your editorial, obviously conflicts with the heart of your message that "the technical problems of nuclear waste disposal are either solved or soluble" and that "those that remain rest with the politicians."

No technological problem that requires a 10,000-year solution can be termed "solved or soluble" by human beings. Nothing human has ever lasted 10,000 years. King Tut's tomb survived for less than half that time, and its claim to fame was that it survived so long while other tombs, engineered as carefully, succumbed long before. The Greek gods themselves did not survive 10,000 years.

The undeniable truth is that no one knows, and no one can know, whether a prediction for 10,000 years will be correct. Do not blame that truth on politicians.

To plan for 10,000 years is arrogant folly. Such a time period is the proper stuff for science fantasy, not for Congressional action or technical ledger-main.

THOMAS SCHNEIDER
Berkeley, Calif., Sept. 6, 1982

As U.S. Bankers Cheer

To the Editor:

The nationalization of private banks in Mexico, which has underscored the seriousness of that country's economic crisis, brought a reaction that struck me, a Venezuelan student majoring in economics, as peculiar: "Bankers in the United States hailed the nationalization" (news story Sept. 2).

Why is it that so many American businessmen who believe in free enterprise fail to understand the need to support free enterprise in developing countries, particularly in Latin America?

I am certain that bankers here will sleep better if all Mexican debts are guaranteed by the Mexican Government. But in rushing to support the nationalization of private banks in Mexico, they may be undermining the free-enterprise system throughout Latin America.

Is sleep more valuable than convictions?

LUIS VICENTE GARCIA
Potomac, Md., Sept. 5, 1982

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

The Transformation Of an 'Underdog'

To the Editor:

Over the past few months, the news media in the United States and Europe have been making us aware that Israelis are no longer being looked upon as underdogs, and hence are not entitled to the appropriate sympathy. The distinction of being an underdog has now been accorded to the P.L.O. and their like.

The time has come for Israel-watchers to realize that one of the most obvious criteria of achievement, a nation's as well as an individual's, is precisely their emergence from the twilight of underdog status. In fact, this is exactly what our well-wishers who are now expressing their nostalgic regrets for our lost image should have been hoping for.

Such regrets are particularly surprising when they come from our friends in the U.S.A. — a nation, if ever there was one, which continues to look upon achievement and success as worthy goals per se, for the individual as well as for a society.

We Israelis, too, should once and for all turn our backs on the underdog stereotype of yore and accept the more onerous responsibilities and goals, both ethical and practical, of achievement in the various realms of life.

DAN TOLKOWSKY
Tel Aviv, Aug. 26, 1982
The writer is a former commanding general of the Israeli Air Force.

Washington's Sorry Breakfast Assemblies

To the Editor:

In reaction to Robert Hershey's Sept. 1 article on your Washington Talk page, "Increasingly, the Busi-



ness Day Begins at Breakfast," let me voice my agreement with Fred Fielding that this barbaric trend is "very unfortunate." Indeed, in my mind it borders on the obscene.

I have long held that the only people a person should talk to before 9 A.M. is spouse and children — and to them as little as possible. Those who engage in breakfast meetings by the dawn's early light are either workaholics, have an unhappy home life and therefore can't wait to get out of the house or are starving for human companionship.

On the rare occasions when I have been dragged into a breakfast meeting, I have found that half the participants either were still asleep, and therefore incapable of making any contribution to the meeting, or were half awake — and would phone me a couple of hours later to see if on a particular issue my recollection matched theirs.

Nothing can be done at 7:30 A.M. that can't be better done at dinner the night before, at lunch the next day or maybe, just maybe, in one's office during normal business hours.

Would our revered Calvin Coolidge have attended a breakfast meeting? Would Winston Churchill?

GEORGE M. WORDEN
Washington, Sept. 1, 1982

Wladyslaw Gomulka: Neither Hero Nor Patriot

To the Editor:

The Times coverage of Wladyslaw Gomulka's death was so one-sided, one would think we were reading an official Polish press release.

It is really difficult to fathom who will remember Gomulka "as a man of courage and a true Polish patriot" (editorial, Sept. 2). Both in your editorial and your obituary article you ignore all but a few months of Gomulka's post-1956 reign.

Gomulka will be remembered as an ignorant, stubborn ideologue who evolved into one of Moscow's most subservient henchmen.

It was Gomulka who dismantled the Polish October and ushered in a new era of repression; it was Gomulka who violently repressed church activity in the mid-60's; it was Gomulka who was responsible for the 1968 campaign of anti-Semitism which drove the remnants of Polish Jewry from Poland; it was Gomulka who organized kangaroo trials of leading Polish intellectuals, and it was Gomulka who was responsible for the vicious attacks on Polish shipyard workers, which by unofficial estimates left hundreds dead.

Wladyslaw Gomulka will not be remembered as courageous or a patriot but rather as just another

(maybe more pathetic) in a line of Moscow's henchmen, repressing Polish national and democratic aspirations.

ANDREW S. EHRENKREUTZ
Professor of History
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Mich., Sept. 2, 1982

Ethiopian Exile Status

To the Editor:

In a Sept. 7 Op-Ed article, Henry Louis Gates Jr. says the Department of State recently found that "Ethiopia has stabilized sufficiently to make exile status unwarranted for the 15,000 Ethiopian political refugees" in the United States. This statement is exactly contrary to fact.

In July 1982, the Department of State recommended to the Attorney General that conditions in Ethiopia warranted reinstatement of voluntary departure for Ethiopians in the United States if they arrived here before July 1, 1980. This means that such persons will not be returned to Ethiopia involuntarily.

ELLIOTT ABRAMS
Assistant Secretary of State
Bureau of Human Rights
and Humanitarian Affairs
Washington, Sept. 6, 1982

'Potshots' From 'Cowardly' E.P.A. Employees

To the Editor:

The extraordinarily long Op-Ed article "Critics of E.P.A. Are Right" [Sept. 1] is a perfect illustration of the refusal of Federal bureaucrats to follow the policy direction of the President and his appointees concerning programs and policies of Federal agencies.

Despite the protection of the Federal Civil Service merit system, the cowardly authors — having "worked in the Environmental Protection Agency since the Carter Administration" — use pseudonyms. And it isn't that they are able to show that the environment is any less protected in the Reagan Administration. They are simply piqued because the policies

they put into place in a previous administration have been changed.

It is the essence of Federal Civil Service that employees take their policy direction from the President and his appointees, not from their personal perceptions of "what the public genuinely wants." The alternative to Civil Service protection is the spoils system.

Your anonymous authors cannot have it both ways. They should either follow the policy directions of elected and appointed superiors or resign, instead of taking potshots on minuscule matters.

RANDY H. HAMILTON
Dean, Graduate School
of Public Administration
Golden Gate University
San Francisco, Sept. 3, 1982

Topics

Pious Deceptions

C.I.A. Disinformation

William Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, is continuing his attack on the Freedom of Information Act by posing a false choice between an open society and a secure one. "I question very seriously," he told the American Legion recently, "whether a secret intelligence agency and a Freedom of Information Act can coexist for very long." That's because the law lets anyone, including foreign intelligence agencies, "poke into our files," he says. His solution: "Get rid of the Freedom of Information Act."

The C.I.A. and the F.O.I.A. have coexisted handsomely since 1968 with immense benefits for democracy and

no demonstrated harm. That's because the act specifically exempts from disclosure Government documents that are legitimately secret. Before any outsider can poke into a file, officials pore over it to see whether all or part of it is classified. The danger is not from over-exposure but over-classification.

The still undocumented threat to national security is said to be the reluctance of foreign intelligence services to share their secrets, and the fear of some individuals to risk lives and reputations to help the C.I.A. Instead of nourishing paranoia, Mr. Casey could ease those concerns by explaining to everyone how freedom of information really works.

White Heat

In a little Georgia town not long ago, a bride in white strode blissfully down the aisle toward a makeshift altar before a cross. But the cross was aflame. And instead of a veil, the bride wore a hood. The groom, too.

Yes, wedding garb and nuptial were furnished by the Ku Klux Klan. Citing the collapse of a marriage after one partner left the K.K.K. flock, the bride explained, "This is one good way" to keep a marriage together.

To preserve domestic bliss, the newlyweds will worship social strife and white supremacy. And they will of course declaim that a family that prays together, stays together.

Question — Wouldn't you like to give Menachem Begin a kick in the pants?
 Answer — I can't wait.
 Q. — How about Yasser Arafat?
 A. — Oooh! That would be fun, and then send him to some clip-joint for a shave.
 Q. — Seriously, what are you thinking about the Middle East?
 A. — Sorry, I was thinking about the Middle West.
 Q. — Why?
 A. — I come from there, and Menachem Begin and Yasser Arafat encourage my isolationist tendencies.
 Q. — What an ass!
 A. — Aren't you ashamed to say that with the way the world is going?
 A. — Sort of.
 But Mr. Begin and Mr. Arafat are driving me up the wall.
 They are on the evening television news — more than Dan Rather and Roger Mudd, talking the most outrageous rubbish, driving on about their rights and their borders, and blaming old Uncle Sugar for all their problems.
 They make me wonder about our rights and our borders.
 Q. — You really are confused?
 A. — More than usual.
 I keep wondering who's on what side. Almost every time Mr. Arafat talks, he helps the Israelis, and almost every time Mr. Begin talks he helps the Palestinians.
 Maybe you can explain.
 Q. — Look, I'm asking the questions and you're supposed to give the answers.
 Right?
 A. — Wrong.
 I'm thinking about the Middle West, about the troubles in Detroit, about our neighbors and our borders, about the unemployment problem, illegal aliens, bankruptcies, business failures, Federal deficits and other inconveniences.
 To be honest about it, I'm also concerned about whether the Baltimore

WASHINGTON

The Question Hour

By James Reston

Orioles or the Boston Red Sox are going to make it.
 Q. — Don't be frivolous.
 If you had to choose between Begin and Arafat, what would you do?
 A. — I'd choose President Reagan. At least he knows when to switch when he's behind.
 Q. — Please answer the question.
 A. — Yasser Arafat and Menachem Begin are losers. They are the soldiers of the past. They have no vision of the coming age, only militant dreams of a world that is gone.
 Every time Mr. Arafat loses, he claims a victory; and every time Mr. Begin has a victory, he throws it away.
 Q. — You're still not answering my question.
 Whom would you choose?
 A. — I wouldn't choose Ariel Sharon.
 Q. — Come on. Why not?
 A. — He has the courage of Menachem Begin's convictions.
 Q. — So what do you suggest?
 A. — I suggest we concentrate on the Middle West, and leave Mr. Begin to the Israelis and Mr. Arafat to the Arabs.
 Why should Cappy Weinberger go strolling through the mine fields of Beirut and the political boobytraps of

Israel, imploring everybody to be sensible? Let them deal with the problems they've created.
 Q. — And meanwhile?
 A. — If Israel refuses to accept President Reagan's proposals for a Palestinian homeland, but not a state on the West Bank and Gaza, and won't even accept it as a basis for negotiation, then let it go. That's their business.
 All we ask for is equal time. If they won't discuss Mr. Reagan's proposals, we won't discuss their appeals for military and economic aid, and refuse to finance Israeli policies we oppose.
 Q. — And the Arabs?
 A. — Same thing. If they want to base their future on Yasser Arafat and the P.L.O. — this Perfectly Lousy Outfit — let them take their chances, and toss Mr. Arafat to the barbers along the Mediterranean Sea.
 Q. — Is this really a sensible policy for the Middle East?
 A. — Probably not.
 But after generations of struggle in the Middle East, Washington is beginning to think more about the Middle West, and is in a vaguely isolationist mood.
 Q. — Is this wise?
 A. — No, it's not wise, but it may be practical.
 If there is a "clear and present danger" in the free world today — and there is — it is probably not what Menachem Begin or the Arabs think, or even what the cold war warriors in Washington and Moscow think.
 It's the economic chaos of the Western world and the hunger of poor people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.
 Q. — You're kidding.
 A. — I couldn't be more serious.
 I can't see the problems of the Middle East for Mr. Begin and Mr. Arafat, but I can see the problems of the Middle West and the capitalist world — and this may in the end be more important.

WASHINGTON — What do the following countries have in common: Argentina, Britain, El Salvador, France, West Germany, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Libya, Nicaragua, Poland and the Soviet Union?
 During the last three years, the United States Government has either threatened or imposed economic sanctions of one kind or another against every country on the list. These actions reflect a dramatic increase in the use of that foreign-policy tool. Most of the objects of these actions were once considered off-limits to such drastic economic pressures.
 Gone, apparently, are the days when economic sanctions were largely limited to a handful of international ne'er-do-wells such as Rhodesia, Cuba, the Soviet Union (over emigration) and other Communist countries — without, however, having much visible effect on their political conduct. In recent years, the United States' threat to impose some kind of economic limits on relations has become a central instrument of foreign policy; indeed, it often appears to be almost the central instrument.
 The reasons should not be surprising. Despite the increase in American military spending the last six years, the utility of military power seems still to be declining. Since Vietnam, there has been continued reluctance to use military force; television has diminished a democracy's appetite for military action; and added caution has been imposed by the relative growth and projection of Soviet military power.
 In addition, many newer threats to American interests are either not military (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the spread of the plutonium economy) or won't be resolved by military action (Angola, Nicaragua). Even in places such as the Persian Gulf, the military projection of American power is limited by physical difficulties, the prevalence of

Misusing Economic Sanctions

By Robert E. Hunter

nonmilitary threats and the political sensibilities of regional states.
 Thus, our policy-makers turn increasingly to other instruments of foreign policy, especially economic ones, and are tempted to use sanctions to try changing others' conduct. No matter that sanctions work little better now than against Italy in the 1930's. No matter that the growth and diffusion of the global economy have reduced our leverage even further. And no matter that, while in private life, Secretary of State George P. Shultz argued that "light-switch" economic policy toward the Soviet Union is both ineffective and damaging to the West. As often as not during a crisis, the American bureaucrat or his boss now reaches into his bag of tricks and pulls out some effort to seek advantage through (diminished) American economic power.
 The liabilities of economic sanctions go further. Every time we either threaten or carry out sanctions against a country even tangentially involved in the global economy, ripples of concern about the reliability of the United States as still the world's most important trading and financing country spread around the globe. This was true during the Iranian hostage crisis, for example, when the Carter Administration worried that sanctions against Iran would affect economic conduct toward the United States by other Middle Eastern countries that

possessed large holdings of dollars — conduct based on commercial, not political, factors. Certainly those and other sanctions have had an impact on America's image as the bastion of an open trading system.
 Even more obvious is the long-range impact in Western Europe of President Reagan's actions to try to forestall European participation in the Soviet natural-gas pipeline. Not only has America's economic credibility been eroded but also its actions are affecting basic political purposes, including management of the Western alliance and East-West relations.
 In most cases, Washington's reaching for economic sanctions symbolizes not strength and determination but rather earlier failures to shape effective policies by other means. That statement is as applicable to the continuing lack of a policy toward the Soviet Union that is both coherent and worked out with our Western European partners as it is to passivity in the face of Israel's concerns that led it to invade Lebanon, the switching of signals sent to the Argentine Junta last year, and the Carter Administration's late awakening to perils faced by the Shah of Iran.
 Controlling economic relations does have its proper place — whether symbolically in the case of Poland or substantively in limiting trade with the Soviet Union that has direct military value. But that proper place is in the context of broader policies and in concert with other involved countries so that our purposes can be understood in advance and economic pain to the various manipulators can be shared fairly. Otherwise, we will see increasing resort by the United States to weak economic tools that say more about our failures than our foreign policies.
 Robert E. Hunter is senior fellow at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Teach National Security

By Adele Simmons

AMHERST, Mass. — On June 12, half a million people marched in New York City in support of a nuclear freeze. These days, thousands of college students who marched are returning to campuses and continuing their efforts to end the arms race. Their return is a challenge: Only a few colleges have the faculty, courses and programs to support learning about issues of this kind. But their return is an opportunity, too: The study of national security can be an especially apt vehicle for liberal education.
 National security will be the subject of intense discussion in dormitories and coffee houses, but this is not enough. The subject should be brought into the academic curriculum through full-fledged courses.
 Some argue that an emotional commitment to one side of an issue interferes with learning about it. I recognize that it may. But it may promote learning, too.
 When undergraduates explore a subject of passionate interest, they move beyond the quest for grades and the confines of reading lists. One student I know whose central interest was in verification problems associated with the strategic arms limitation treaties found himself delving more deeply into physics than a political science major might otherwise do.
 Many students are questioning Government and corporate involvement in weapons production and sales. We are all better off if such students are informed and understand all sides of the debate.
 One of our goals as educators is to enable students to identify and test their own basic assumptions and those of experts and leaders, and to develop their own conclusions about complicated problems. The study of underlying assumptions is inevitably a part of the study of national security, an area in which different conclusions are regularly drawn from the same "facts." The Pentagon uses them to support its case that we must invest in weapons in order to survive. The Federation of American Scientists uses the same facts to argue for ending the nuclear arms race. What assumptions shape these conclusions? By learning to see and evaluate assumptions, students can develop responsible positions for themselves, and they can discover the elusiveness of an "objective" reading of the facts.
 A mystique has grown up around the fields essential to an understanding of



Gerald Thomas

the subject of peace and war. Many experts say it is too complicated for others to understand. Some of us respond with relief, saying, "We leave it to you." In a democratic society, educators have a responsibility to prepare nonspecialists to exercise informed judgment about such questions. To meet this responsibility may be the most important job of liberal education today. That the subject is urgent and complicated means that educators must scramble to find ways to teach it — not that undergraduates cannot fathom it.
 Few professors are trained in arms control or weapons systems, but at most colleges there are faculty members whose training equips them to acquire background sufficient to teach a new subject. For example, one professor of history spent this summer revising a seminar on "America since World War II" to focus nearly exclusively on nuclear weapons. The seminar is "based on the assumption that responsible citizens must think about nuclear war and weapons, in part because it is the most important public-policy issue in the world today, and in part because it provides a window (not of vulnerability but of understanding) into essential features of the modern American character."
 I believe that most faculty members would be eager to apply their spe-

cialized skills in this way, especially if it meant collaborating with colleagues from other disciplines. A few colleges still discourage faculty members from trying new subjects and approaches, but most are finding that one excellent stimulus to a faculty member's development is the opportunity to use scholarly training to explore a new problem and to team-teach with scholars in other disciplines.
 College presidents have usually balked at speaking out on public questions. While there are serious arguments against our taking political positions, we also recognize the danger of slavish conformity, of remaining silent about, say, significant violations of human rights.
 We can provide leadership in build-

ing a saner world without compromising our institutions. By leadership I do not mean that every president must be a public advocate. Some college presidents understandably feel that they may chill debate on their campuses if they make public their own views on controversial issues. All of us, however, can work to provide an environment that encourages thorough examination of such urgent matters as national security and the arms race. If we move these issues nearer the top of our own curricular agenda, we help move them toward the top of the nation's agenda.

Adele Simmons is president of Hampshire College.

Common Victims In the Mideast

By Evan Carton

AUSTIN, Tex. — In the national press and beyond our boundaries, honorable people continue to debate the Middle East crisis in frightening terms. The terms of the debate are frightening because they tend to represent the Israeli-Palestinian issue in ways that are inherently propagandistic, ways that can bring only counter-propaganda in the short run and, in the long run, doom. Demonstrations that one side or the other broke cease-fires or impeded negotiations, that one or the other was despised by the Lebanese, that one or the other deserves the epithet "terrorist," are inevitably partisan, peripheral, obscurantist and destructive.
 Before there is peace, there must come a full recognition not only of the facts but of the human force of history, for propaganda survives and thrives on the distortion of these.
 It requires staggering naïveté or disingenuousness to deny that each side has violated cease-fires and that, in their long and bloody struggle, each has committed its share of atrocities. Nor was there much value in recent commentaries, by both Palestinian and Israeli apologists, that the citizens of Lebanon had joined in brotherly solidarity with one or the other occupying army. Coerced, intimidated, fragmented and dependent people are likely to pursue their immediate personal interests wherever they happen to see them.
 The things that are important are these: Israelis and Palestinians both bear old and deep wounds; Israelis and Palestinians, whether in the context of decades or millennia, both hold historical, emotional and political claims on Palestine; Israelis and Palestinians both possess and require national identities — on this point the Israeli denial of the historical, emotional and political existence of a Palestinian people is equivalent in its willful incomprehension to the Palestinian denial of the historical, emotional and political legitimacy of a Zionist state.
 Beyond their common ethnic origin and their claims on the same tract of land, Palestinians and Jews share a critical identity: the identity of historical victim. The Palestine Liberation Organization's campaign to cast Zionists as classic imperialist aggressors ignores this historical truth, a truth so

fundamental to Israel and so palpable to the consciousness of its citizens that a masterly polemicist like Menachem Begin can convert it into virulent propaganda as well. Shameful and brutal centuries of anti-Semitism aren't forgotten in 34 years of wartime autonomy, and it is clear to me — however I may oppose them — that the Israeli people would be crazy to forget them now. But the Palestinian people also have been longstanding victims of foreign domination and occupation. From their unassailable perspective, only the oppressor has changed.
 One of this century's most bitter ironies is that the modern conflict over Palestine is rooted in the simultaneous victimization of Palestinian Arab and Jew by a common ally. Perhaps more by blunder than by design, a crumbling British Empire pledged mutually exclusive commitments to the Palestinian people and the Jewish groups in the service of its own short-term interests. And once World War II had been won, the sluggish Allies liberators of Nazi death-camp prisoners, more sensitive to the political and economic repercussions of allowing thousands of displaced Jews inside their countries' borders than to the territorial rights of a bunch of inconsequential desert dwellers, opted to let the sins of the West be redeemed by a people in the East who had not the power to refuse. Hence, the disastrous aftermath of oppression: two victims set against one another and left to cut each other's throats.
 That, aided by their respective "friends," is precisely what the Israelis and the Palestinians are doing. Israel, bearing the combined burden of political and economic instability and ostracism from an increasingly hostile international community, is forced into unsavory relations with some of the world's most reactionary countries. What ill will it doesn't sow on its own, it reaps by association. Palestinians are and have been more directly manipulated, when they haven't been slaughtered, in the self-interested power plays of their Arab "brothers." Both Israelis and the Palestinians, without much concern for their consent, are subject to the vicissitudes of the Reagan Administration's "strategic consensus."
 The consummate irony for these two mortal enemies is that the only likely savior for each is the other, and only their common heritage of historical victimization will serve as a basis upon which both may stop victimizing themselves. For each, proper self-recognition and proper identification of the other amount, really, to one and the same thing. Perhaps now, when the physical and psychological suffering of both sides is fresh and heavy, such reciprocal recognition may begin to take place.
 Evan Carton is assistant professor of English at the University of Texas, at Austin.

IN THE NATION

There He Goes Again

By Tom Wicker

Nor does 1983 look much better. Even Mr. Baldrige said investment would not begin to rise before the middle of that year. On that point, some of the investment incentives in the 1981 tax reduction have just been repealed by the 1982 tax increase.
 Since that increase was aimed, however, at reducing huge projected deficits, and thus at bringing down interest rates, it's not clear whether its effect on investment will be positive or negative.
 It's true that interest rates declined this summer, probably improving Republican political prospects for November.

But the drop was the result of an easing of the money supply by the Federal Reserve Board, plus the fact that the overall economy was even more depressed than had been expected.
 Lack of demand for loans thus caused rates to fall even lower than the Federal Reserve had intended; but both money supply figures and the statements of Fed chairman Paul Volcker showed that the Fed has done about all it intends to do to loosen the money supply, at least until well into 1983.
 The recent drop in interest rates

also encouraged a Wall Street boom-let. But what appears to have been even more important in this bullish spree were the bearish predictions of Henry Kaufman and Albert Wojniak. They reversed their predictions of a continuing rise in interest rates but not because, like President Reagan, they had "sighted" recovery.
 Rather, each said that he could see no signs of the economic upturn the Administration had confidently predicted for the second quarter, then the third quarter, then sometime in 1982.
 Hence, increased demand for loans would not, after all, cause interest rates to keep rising.
 It may well happen that such economic pessimism, having helped get Wall Street moving again, justifies more Republican political optimism for November. But it's hard for anyone else to see the kind of "strong recovery" that Mr. Reagan says is becoming more "imminent" every day.

The recession of 1981 and 1982, moreover, and the tight-money, high-interest policies that so largely induced it, have been major factors in the decline in inflation.
 President Reagan can legitimately claim some credit for that — but not without conceding that the test of the achievement was the highest unemployment and the worst business failure rate since the Great Depression of the 1930's.
 And that directly contradicts the optimistic promises of his campaign and his first months in office that he could bring down inflation and bring about economic recovery at the same time.
 Mr. Reagan now complains that it's impossible to clean up overnight what he calls an economic mess that took decades to create. That's still self-serving, but at least it's more realistic than the relentless optimism that so far has served him so poorly.

"Yes, recovery has been sighted," President Reagan said in his Alfred M. Landon lecture at Kansas State University.
 "The stage has been set," Secretary of the Treasury Regan said at the International Monetary Fund meeting in Toronto, "for a strong recovery that is becoming more probable and more imminent with each passing day."
 Both may be right.
 But it appears more likely that the President and his highest economic adviser were indulging once again in the over-optimism and self-serving predictions that have become the economic hallmarks of this Administration.
 The Commerce Department has just reported, for instance, that business investment in plant and equipment will decline in 1982 by at least 4.4 percent from 1981 levels.
 And despite Secretary Baldrige's valiant attempt to make this look like a better record than would have been

achieved without the Reagan "supply-side" tax cut of 1981, the report is solid evidence of the failure of the tax cut to do what the Administration claimed it would do: bring about a surge in capital investment and a resulting economic boom.
 That was the first — and remains the prime — statement of Administration over-optimism.
 The best evidence is that businessmen, rather than being encouraged to invest, correctly saw the tax cut as so large that it was bound to increase the Federal deficit, hence drive up interest rates.
 Higher interest rates discourage borrowing and investment.
 Nevertheless, the incurably over-optimistic Reagan Administration predicted in March that the decline in investment for plant and equipment in 1982 would be only 1 percent rather than the 4.4 percent now reported.
 Some analysts say the actual fall will be steeper than that.

Arts & Leisure

Hollywood Has Something for Everyone

By JANET MASLIN

After a summer spent watching the adventures of a boy and his extraterrestrial, romance at a military base and horror in 3-D, audiences will see movies take some new twists this fall.

Even more so than in past seasons, movies for and about children will now be much in evidence. But Hollywood isn't giving up on adults entirely, and will do its best to cover all bases by appealing to all sorts of tastes. Religious subjects and opera figure prominently in the fall line-up. There will also be comedy, history and a matter of nostalgia.

While fancifulness and escapism still remain paramount, some filmmakers — perhaps following the lead of TV's docu-dramas — will focus on issues fresh from the headlines and carrying significant import for society at large, among them the after-effects of Agent Orange and the dangers

'Some filmmakers will focus on issues with import for society at large.'

of biological warfare.

The season will begin unofficially on Sept. 24, as the New York Film Festival celebrates its 20th anniversary. Opening night will feature "Vernika Voss," the third film in the trilogy on post-war Germany by the late Rainer Werner Fassbinder. Closing night, Oct. 10, will bring Werner Herzog's

"Fitzcarraldo," Mr. Herzog's tale of a robber baron who is determined to build an opera house in an Amazon port city, so that he can invite Enrico Caruso to sing there. "Fitzcarraldo," which stars Klaus Kinski and reportedly took four years to make, has a screenplay that called for a boat to be carried over a mountain, and Mr. Herzog, a director of by now legendary perseverance, saw to it that a real boat was indeed transported that way.

Elsewhere, on the Festival roster are Jerzy Skolimowski's "Moonlighting," starring Jeremy Irons as a Polish foreman renovating a London getaway home for his boss; Peter Greenaway's "The Draughtsman's Contract," a 17th century-tale starring Janet Suzman and Anthony Higgins; "Yol," the Turkish film that was co-winner of this year's Grand Prix at Cannes; Michelangelo Antonioni's "Identification of a Woman," which stars Tomas Milian as a middle-aged film director; "The Night of the Shooting Stars," by Italy's Taviani brothers; Miklos Jancso's "The Tyrant's Heart"; Joseph Losey's "The Trout"; and another Fassbinder film, "The Stationmaster's Wife." Among the Festival's American selections will be "Tex," Tim Hunter's version of the S.E. Hinton novel about two teen-age boys growing up alone, starring Matt Dillon.

"Fitzcarraldo" is hardly the only opera-related film on the fall schedule, what with "Yes, Giorgio," a non-Festival film opening in late September, in which Luciano Pavarotti will be making his screen debut. Mr. Pavarotti, playing an opera star who has an extramarital love affair with a doctor, will sing various operatic and popular selections. September will also bring a reissue of a filmed "Aida," starring Sophia Loren, and the premiere of "The Divine Emma," a Czech film about the soprano Emma Destinn. Hans-Jürgen Syberberg, a



"GANDHI"—Ben Kingsley plays the title role in the film based on the life and historical significance of Mahatma Gandhi. Directed by Richard Attenborough, the movie co-stars Sir John Gielgud, Martin Sheen and Candice Bergen. To open in December.

German director given to lengthy movies, will weigh in with "Parsifal," to open sometime in the early fall.

Among the films for and about children, several will feature some form of nonhuman characters. "The Dark Crystal," directed by the Muppeteers Jim Henson and Frank Oz, is due in December; it's a fantasy-adventure about a hero named Jen, a girl named Kira, and their efforts to save the (good) Urrus from the (wicked) Skel-sis.

Even Francis Coppola is aiming at the young audience; his "The Outsiders," like "Tex," is also based on an S.E. Hinton novel for and about young people. Matt Dillon is the star of both movies, and Mr. Coppola's also features Leif Garrett and Diane Lane.

Among the films dealing with religious matters, "Monsignor," directed by Frank Perry, arrives in October, starring Christopher Reeve as the title character who is on his way to becoming a cardinal but who also has Mafia ties. In Sidney Lumet's "The Verdict," due in December, Paul Newman will play a Boston lawyer who takes on a malpractice case; since the victim has been treated in a

Catholic hospital, the lawyer runs into difficulties with the church. And in Ted Kotcheff's "Split Image," scheduled for October, Michael O'Keefe is cast as a young man who joins a religious cult led by Peter Fonda.

Speaking of religious cults, "Inchon!" a Korean war battle epic, will open this Friday with financing from the Unification Church and a "special adviser" credit for the Rev. Sun Myung Moon.

Among those new films that will draw their inspiration from current affairs is "First Blood," also directed by Mr. Kotcheff and starring Sylvester Stallone as a Vietnam veteran who discovers that at least one of his army buddies has been harmed by Agent Orange. It is scheduled for October, as is Alan Rudolph's "Endangered Species," a mystery-thriller about the consequences of biological warfare based on a story about cattle mutilations in the Southwest. It stars Robert Urich as a formerly alcoholic New York detective who moves to Colorado and meets Jobeth Williams, who plays a sheriff. Then there's Larry Pearce's "Love Child," again in October, with Amy Madigan and Beau Bridges in

the true story of a woman convict who is raped by a prison guard. She then bears a child and struggles to gain custody of the baby.

An actress, a world leader and a detective will all be subjects of screen biographies this fall. In "Frances," opening in December, Jessica Lange will play Frances Farmer, the tragic and troubled film star. Sam Shepard and Kim Stanley (in her comeback after a long absence) will co-star. Also coming in December is Sir Richard Attenborough's "Gandhi," with Ben Kingsley in the title role and Sir John Gielgud, Martin Sheen and Candice Bergen also in the cast. Wim Wenders' "Hammett," opening in October and starring Frederic Forrest and Peter Boyle, isn't strictly a biography. But it's based on a novel by Joe Gores that loosely chronicles Dashiell Hammett's early days as a detective in San Francisco. Another San Francisco detective is the one Nick Nolte plays in Walter Hill's "48 Hours," coming in December.

There'll be a few major movies set in the 30's, 40's and early 50's this season. Clint Eastwood will play a Depression-era roughneck who writes country music in "Honky Tonk Man," due to be released at Christmas. Sean Connery and Betsy Brandt will star in Fred Zinnemann's "Five Days One Summer," a romance set in 1932 in the Swiss Alps. In "My Favorite Year," directed by Richard Benjamin with Mel Brooks as executive producer, Peter O'Toole will play an Errol Flynn-like swashbuckling star who in 1954 is making his first live television appearance on something very like "Your Show of Shows." It opens in early October. In December, Meryl Streep will star in "Sophie's Choice," directed by Alan Pakula and co-starring Kevin Kline and Peter MacNicol. Based on William Styron's novel of a concentration camp survivor and two men who love her, it has a late-40's setting.

Miss Streep also stars, along with Roy Scheider and Jessica Tandy, in "Still of the Night," which was formerly titled "Stab" and is the first film from Robert Benton since "Kramer vs. Kramer." Scheduled for November, it's the story of a psychiatrist falling in love with a beautiful and possibly dangerous patient. Another successful star-director team, Martin Scorsese and Robert DeNiro, once again work together in "The King of Comedy," which is slated for Christmas unless Mr. Scorsese delays the release for some additional fine-tuning. Mr. DeNiro plays an aspiring comedian who decides to kidnap a talk show host, played by Jerry Lewis, and hold him for ransom. This, he hopes, will get him his own big break in television.

Among comedies which promise to be more offbeat are Sydney Pollack's "Tootsie," with Dustin Hoffman as an actor who can't get work unless he

pretends to be an actress; and "The Toy," with Richard Pryor playing a clerk who happens to be on duty when a rich man, played by Jackie Gleason, tells his son he can have anything in the store. Both open in December. A couple of more familiar-sounding entries will be "National Lampoon's Class Reunion," starring Shelley Long and opening in October, and "Airplane II: The Sequel," which stars Robert Hays, Julie Hagerty, Sonny and Susie Bono and some members of the first "Airplane!" cast. It opens in December.

Then there's "Best Friends," with Burt Reynolds and Goldie Hawn playing two pals who decide to find out whether getting married will improve their relationship. It was co-written by Barry Levinson, the director of "Diner," and Valerie Curtin, with Norman Jewison directing. "Trail of the Pink Panther" is due at Christmas and will feature Peter Sellers in roles that were never included in his Pink Panther movies; the pretext will be that a female reporter is searching for Inspector Clouseau and is visiting all the sites of his old adventures. Bette Midler will star in Don Siegel's "Jinxed," which reportedly blends comedy, suspense and romance against a gambling-casino background; it was co-written by Frank Gilroy and David Newman. There will also be a new Woody Allen film, but it may not be a comedy and it has not yet been named. It stars Mr. Allen and Mia Farrow, and it opens in December.

In the horror field, as in comedy, there are plenty of follow-ups on the way. Among them: "Halloween 3: Season of the Witch," due on Oct. 22 and telling of a diabolical maskmaker who tricks millions of unsuspecting kids into wearing his masks on Halloween; and "Amityville II: The Possession." This one is more prequel than sequel, since it tells of the people who lived in the Amityville haunted house before "The Amityville Horror." But either way, the territory may not be new. Other horror entries will be "The Sender," about a message-transmitting psychic, and "Creepshow," with George Romero directing five Stephen King stories. "Creepshow" opens in late October.

What won't there be much of this season? The "sentimental" film would appear to be in short supply. But December will bring "Six Weeks," with Mary Tyler Moore and Dudley Moore as the mother and employer, respectively, of a dying young girl played by Katherine Healey. Another movie about a sensitive young girl will be "Independence Day," with Kathleen Quinlan in a coming-of-age story about someone eager to leave her small home town. Co-starring David Keith and Frances Sternhagen, it opens in October.

FILM VIEW

VINCENT CANBY

"Barbarosa" Proves That The Western Isn't Dead Yet

Red Schepisi's "Barbarosa" is so thoroughly entertaining and good-hearted that it comes as something of a shock to realize that it's not only the best Western in years, it's virtually the only Western in years. The Western hasn't just declined and fallen, it's almost disappeared. There are probably convincing economic reasons why this once most popular of movie genres has become such a rarity. But it can't be simply that they are too expensive to produce. All movies cost fortunes these days. The awful truth seems to be that audiences are no longer interested. The Western having been dumped, motherhood and country could go next.

Under these circumstances, "Barbarosa," the first American film by the Australian director of "The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith" and "The Devil's Playground," should look like an anachronism. It doesn't. Though it's set in the second half of the 19th century, as most Westerns are, it doesn't appeal to an antique sensibility. It's like a timeless country-western ballad, a song of dozens of verses that don't always make complete narrative sense but that evoke a vision of the Old West as we like to think it might have been.

The landscape is lonely, parched and beautiful and though it seems to be vast and trackless — there are no visible roads or paths through it — the characters keep stumbling onto each other at inopportune moments. Coincidence is as much a law of this film's universe as gravity. In a consistently buoyant way, Mr. Schepisi and his screenwriter, William D. Witliff, demonstrate that there's still a lot of life in the Western when the filmmakers know exactly what they want to do. "Barbarosa" is not an especially moral Western, nor is it a parable for today. The West of "Barbarosa" is as mythical and as self-contained as an imaginary planet in science fiction, but the people who inhabit it are creatures of all-too-recognizable flesh and blood, not miraculously animated plastic dolls.

The story isn't easy to describe. In a general way one can say it's about a very old outlaw of ferocious reputation, Barbarosa, played by the far from ferocious, non-singing Willie Nelson, who looks like a hip Gabby Hayes, and his adventures in the company of a clumsy, eager-to-learn farm boy (Gary Bussey), who's on the lam for accidentally having killed his brother-in-law.

It may be an oversight but I prefer to think that it's one of the points of the film that although we are given a lot of exposition, there are always key things that remain a mystery, like the exact circumstances surrounding the murder Mr. Bussey committed. "Barbarosa" seems almost casually conceived, and this is its charm. It has moments of barbarity, sentiment, wild humor and magic, as when, in one marvelous scene, Barbarosa rises from the grave to reclaim his life and reputation.

It tells its picaresque tale in a fashion that is light-hearted without being facetious, genuinely fond without being solemn. If Mr. Schepisi can be compared to a ballad singer, then one can say that he has a true, sure voice and the skill of a seasoned performer who seems always to be finding the confidential heart of a tale for the first time.

"Barbarosa" is an unpretentious recollection of a genre that is nothing if not adaptable. Throughout the decades critics have attempted to define the Western in such specific terms that at least 90 percent of the films that most of us take to be Westerns somehow are excluded for being impure. By these definitions, George Stevens' "Shane" is too romantic to be considered a classic Western, Fred Zinnemann's "High Noon" too political, Henry

Hathaway's "True Grit" too sentimental — though, to me, each is in its own way a definition of what a Western is.

I don't much care whether the hero can be interpreted as a representative of an especially fascistic sort of law-and-order, like John Wayne's Rooster Cogburn in "True Grit," or as a bleeding-heart liberal fighting the forces of reaction, like Gary Cooper's sheriff in "High Noon." If the film has horses and is set in the American West, usually between 1850 and 1913, then it's a Western, whether it was actually shot in Spain, like some of Sergio Leone's nihilistic tales, or whether even it's funny, like Mel Brooks' "Blazing Saddles."

More often than not, the great Westerns of John Ford, Howard Hawks, Budd Boetticher and Sam Peckinpah apotheosize a 19th-century vision of rugged American individualism at the expense of the far more complex, socially aware American society we now know. They look suspiciously like the dreams of people who believe the nation started to come apart with the imposition of the Federal income tax.

There is, however, a good deal more to these films than political naïveté. As they ride through their lawless landscapes, the Western sheriffs, cowboys and outlaws are discovering the basic laws that govern their lives. In one way and another they are growing up. And growing up, as Mark Twain wrote so eloquently in "Life on the Mississippi" in the chapters on becoming a river pilot, means exchanging innocence — he calls it beauty — for knowledge.

I'm not sure when movie Westerns began their decline, but I suppose that the huge success of various Western series on television in the 1950's and 60's didn't help the theater box offices. Not helpful either was the increasing emphasis in the late 1960's and early 70's on stories about the Old West's passing. Sam Peckinpah made two of the best of these, "The Wild Bunch" and "The Ballad of Cable Hogue," as well as one of the worst, "Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid." The genre started to look as tired as their worn-out heroes.

For reasons I don't understand, the most popular Western of the early 1970's, George Roy Hill's "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid," inspired not more Westerns but more films about male friendships. Yet the 70's did see the production of a number of good, idiosyncratic Westerns — Don Siegel's "Two Mules for Sister Sara," Robert Benton's "Bad Company," the Frank Perry-Thomas McGuane "Rancho Deluxe," which, though contemporary, was essentially a meditation on the Old West, Robert Aldrich's "Ulzana's Raid," "True Grit," Stan Dragoti's oddball and memorable "Dirty Little Billy" and Frank D. Gilroy's comic "From Noon Till Three." Of these, only "True Grit" was a substantial financial success.

Since then we've had Michael Cimino's "Heaven's Gate," which had the potential of becoming a true epic. Yet Mr. Cimino spent so much time on the physical details of his giant production that he somehow never got around to writing a screenplay that could discover the sense of the scenes he had so grandly photographed. One of the sweetest Westerns ever made, Lamont Johnson's "Cattle Annie and Little Britches," with Burt Lancaster and Amanda Plummer, died at the box office last year, survived only by good notices.

Let's hope "Barbarosa" can do better. At stake is an important part of our cinema heritage. "The Best of the West," "Conan" and a number of other barbarians are at the gate.

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סניף מרכזי

NATIONWIDE campaign is underway in the U.S. to raise substantial sums to support congressional candidates who believe that America's strategic interests in the Middle East are best served by maintaining U.S. support for Israel. The announcement of the campaign last week marks the forming of the first national "political Action Committee" (PAC) on behalf of Israel. Various PACs connected to business organizations, labor, and other special interest groups have been active over the past few years in raising money for their favorite candidates.

According to Marvin Josephson, a new pro-Israel PAC was formed in response to a serious "erosion of support for Israel in this country" and to the emergence of the large and powerful pro-Arab and petro-

It is no secret that continuation of maximum levels of the U.S. commitment to Israel's survival is in jeopardy today more than at any time in the past," said Josephson, who directs an entertainment company and is treasurer of the PAC. "Mobil Oil has a PAC. Bechtel has a PAC. Boeing and Amoco and Humana all have PACs," noted Josephson. "But those of us who live deeply in this country's long-term stake in Israel's survival do not have a nationwide PAC." By participating in the national PAC (NATPAC), "those of us who are concerned about America's future course in the Middle East can bring our collective influence to bear most effectively on the election of candidates to the House and Senate," he said.

The theme of the new group is

Supporting Israel's supporters

By LEON HADAR / Post New York Correspondent



From left: Donors Woody Allen, Roberta Peters and Bob Hope; recipients John Danforth and Henry Jackson.

summed up in the headline of some of its ads which will appear in several newspapers in the coming months: "Supporting candidates who believe in Israel is not just good for Jews. It's good for Americans."

Those appearing on a partial list of initial financial supporters include such personalities as Woody Allen, Bob Hope and Roberta Peters, New Republic editor Martin Peretz, businessman David Hyatt and Laurence Tisch and many Jewish leaders and prominent figures from the academic world. NATPAC was formed earlier this year by Josephson, and so far over \$350,000 have been contributed.

Many of the contributors have donated \$5,000 — the maximum contribution permitted by the federal election law. The PAC has a fund-raising goal of \$5 million. There are now 20 Jewish affiliated PACs in various Jewish centers in the U.S. and they rely mainly on local contributions.

JOSEPHSON SAID that the group will stress in its message to the public that "You don't have to agree to everything the Israel government does to support a PAC for Israel." According to him, many contributors have indicated that they will not contribute anything to Israeli causes while Begin is in of-

fice. "We're not pro-Begin," stated Josephson. "We're just supporting our only democratic ally in the Middle East."

What people do not realize is that charitable organizations like the UJA, the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee can-

not make contributions to political candidates," Josephson added. "The American Israel public affairs committee is not a political action committee and does not make contributions to political candidates."

If supporters of Israel want to have a direct impact on the political process they should contribute to

organizations like NATPAC which will contribute funds directly to political candidates from both parties who share our views, Josephson noted.

Another factor is the ability of Israel's supporters to have impact on Senate and House races in all 50 states. "You can only vote in one congressional district, but through a PAC like NATPAC you can contribute to races throughout the country," said Josephson.

"The congressman or congresswoman from Idaho has the same vote as the congressman or congresswoman from New York and a positive attitude from a senator or representative who does not have a large Jewish constituency is that much more influential."

NATPAC has already contributed to six candidates so far: Henry Jackson (D-Washington), John Danforth (R-Wisconsin), Richard Durbin (D-Illinois), John Heinz (R-Pennsylvania), and two contenders for the New Jersey Senate race, Millicent Fenwick and Frank Lautenberg.

Candidates for contributions are chosen by a five person committee including Josephson, Peretz, attorney Rira Hauser, Paramount Pictures chairman Barry Diller and James Wolfensohn, investment banker. The committee, he stressed, will look only at the candidates' positions on support for Israel.

An unlikely bestseller

Special to The Jerusalem Post

EN-AMI Shillony of the Hebrew University has written a book that is a bestseller — in Japan. *Tenno no Keizakoku* (The Emperor's Economics) was commissioned by a major Japanese publisher for his market. One month after its publication this summer, the book has gone into four editions and sold 100,000 copies. It was translated by one of Japan's leading writers, Yamamoto Shichiro.

Prof. Shillony was invited to participate at the time of the book's publication. He appeared on two television networks, was interviewed by the popular weeklies, and was invited to dress two prestigious institutions, the Industrial Club of Japan and the Yum for Current Affairs. On the surface, a book about the Emperor's economics is hardly the fit of which bestsellers are made. A great deal of the book's popularity, Prof. Shillony says, is that the book's central thesis, the link between the Emperor and Japan's economic success, has been taboo in Japan because of the stigma attached to the Emperor in the wake of the Second World War.

The fact that this taboo has now been broken, and by a foreigner, has caused something of a sensation.

Prof. Ben-Ami Shillony, 45, is the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace. He is a Fellow of the Institute, and also head of the University's Department of East Asian Studies. The Japanese, he says, are even more intrigued than most peoples by what outsiders think of them. When the outsider is an Israeli, their hostility becomes intense. One of the book's central themes is a comparison between the Jews and the Japanese. "Had someone fallen between the middle of the 19th century and awoke now, one of his surprises would be the resemblance of both Israel and Japan," says Shillony in the opening pages of the book.

These were two nations that were not expected to succeed in the modern industrial world, so we may say that they have been the 'great rises' of the past 100 years. The Jews and the Japanese are 'different' — both non-Christian societies — and the West has been very irritated when they did rise. Anti-Semitism and anti-Japanism took on awesome dimensions once the Jews and the Japanese emerged from their closed doors — the Jews from the ghettos, the Japanese from their island situation.

It was precisely this isolation which enabled both to consolidate themselves and develop their innate abilities to the maximum. "After such long periods of isolation and isolation," Prof. Shillony says, "the energy that was released amazed the world." "The Jews and the Japanese are the only two non-Christian societies to succeed in Western areas of endeavor — actually, they have shaken the West in most fields they have put their minds to — and only two non-Christian societies are fully modern."

THE MOST devastating clash with the West came simultaneously, in the Second World War. The Jews suffered the trauma of the

Holocaust, while the Japanese endured defeat and the atomic bomb. "Here, though, we see an interesting polarization," Prof. Shillony points out. "Whereas the Jews concluded that they must never again be weak and incohesive, and so created a new State and a powerful army, the Japanese reached exactly the opposite conclusion: that their tragedy had ensued because they had resorted to force to solve problems. Thus, they resolved to pursue a pacifistic policy and not irritate anyone."

With this notion is the book's other major point: that the Emperor system has given the Japanese emotional stability and psychological security enabling them to undergo great changes in their way of life.

"The key factor in Japan's economic performance today," Prof. Shillony explains, "is its ability to adapt to a shifting world. This could only be achieved if they were certain that there was something of fundamental importance that remained unchanging, an inviolable, permanent nucleus. That nucleus was provided by Japanese culture, tradition and values."

That nucleus was inherent in Japan's unique Emperor system, in which one single family has reigned in unbroken succession for at least 1,500 years.

Just as in the past the imperial system held Japan together, so in modern times the symbolic figure of the Emperor was used to legitimize modernization and became the driving force behind Japan's military and economic prowess. "After the Second World War," Prof. Shillony continues, "it was because of the psychological security provided by the Emperor that the Japanese were ready to invest great efforts in reconstruction and in retaining their unity. The Emperor system is their safety net."

The present Emperor, Hirohito, has reigned for 37 years, the longest ever in Japanese history. His reign has been congruent with the development of modern Japan in all its phases. It was the Emperor who personally decided on Japan's surrender in 1945, thus preventing a suicidal fight to the finish, and who then cooperated with the Allied occupation to re-orient Japan from a militarist to a pacifist ethos, from authoritarian to democratic rule. Now in his 82nd year, the Emperor symbolizes the entire fate of modern Japan.

Prof. Shillony's suggestion in the book, that Emperor Hirohito be awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace — as one who first waged war but then was instrumental in securing peace — caused a sensation in Japan. No one had ever put forward the idea in a public forum.

The final chapter in *The Emperor's Economics* suggests what the Japanese can offer the world today. First, says Prof. Shillony, their Confucian background has provided them with a morality which is not based on religion; secondly, an aesthetic attitude toward life; and finally, teamwork without coercion.

Instead of the West's individualism and coercive collectivism, the Japanese have developed a non-coercive collectivism.

"Here," Prof. Shillony says, "we come full circle, for is this not what Israel's unique institution — the kibbutz — also offers?"

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ANYONE planning a new garden to be planted in autumn can choose from a variety of ways of fencing it in. A living, growing hedge is the cheapest method. A hedge, especially an evergreen one, offers shelter, absorbs sound, traps dust and provides privacy.

If protecting property is a major consideration, you may choose lifeless material, a wire fence, bricks, a stone wall, iron bars or wooden planks. Perhaps the best idea is to combine these two fencing ideas — a metal, wood or stone encircling wall outside and, close to it, a parallel living fence inside the garden.

The choice of plants for hedges is a big one, and there are deciduous or evergreen plants for every purpose. If you prefer a low evergreen hedge, choose lavender (*Lavandula officinalis*, *asvion* in Hebrew), dwarf oleander (*Nerium oleander* var. *nanum*, *harduf hanahalin nanasi*), or *Ruscus aculeatus* (*ets-bont' hahoresht*), a very strong evergreen bush, which will succeed even in a windy spot along the seashore or in partial shade. The leaves of *ruscus* are long-lasting when used in bouquets with flowers and are quite expensive when bought from florists.

Many amateur gardeners in this country use berry-bearing shrubs for both their colourful decoration and to attract beneficial birds. The most popular ones in this category are *Viburnum tinus* (*morad hahoresht*), *Cotoneaster franchetii*

(*habushit franshet*) and *pyracantha* (same name in Hebrew), which is also called firethorn. These hedge plants grow well in all parts of this country.

Other popular choices for living fences are: tamarisk (*Tamarix articulata*, *eshel haprakim* or *eshel* (Abraham); *Dodonaea viscosa* (*Dodonaea diekai*); *Duranta plumieri* (*duranta metsuya*); Grecian laurel (*Laurus nobilis*, or *atsil* or *dafna*); myrtle (*Myrtus communis*, *hadass mar-sul*); arbor vitae (*Thuja orientalis*, *ez hayim*); *Plumbago capensis* (*Afril hakef*); rosemary (*Rosemarinus officinalis*, *rosmarin refue*).

I cannot end this list of common hedge plants without mentioning the most common and cheapest of all, privet (*Ligustrum japonicum*, *ligustrum yaponi*), which is easily grown from hardwood cuttings taken in autumn. Privet, however, has some disadvantages. First, its roots are vigorous and "rob" other plants in its immediate vicinity of food and moisture. Secondly, it grows so fast that regular clipping is mandatory.

The best way to choose the most suitable plant or plants for a permanent border is to pay a visit to a first-class nursery. Professional advice from a nurseryman on planting rules and care is always valuable.

Bulb planting. Whether refashioning a garden or establishing a new one, leave space for spring-blooming bulb flowers. Bulbs have been popular for centuries, and some have a most dramatic history.

Their popularity derives from their great beauty and variety and, above all, from their easy culture and ability to flourish in many soils and climates.

Many bulbs are suitable for naturalizing. They multiply by off-spring bulblets and year after year flower every spring. Most garden bulbs are descended from species that grow wild in Asia Minor, including Israel. The most popular bulb flowers in Israel are cyclamen, tulips, irises, ranunculi, crocus, anemones, gladioli, grape hyacinths (*muscaria*) and narcissi. The largest commercial source of these bulbs is Holland, where many thousands of acres are devoted to bulb culture, particularly the tulip.

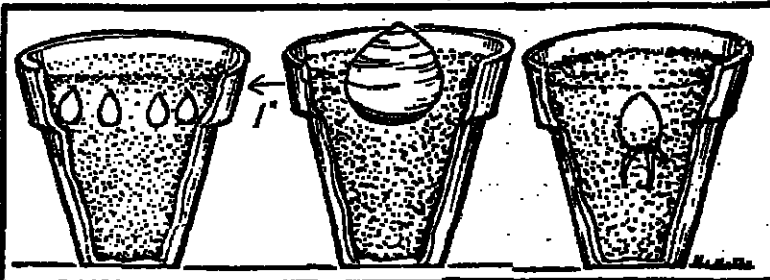
The above-mentioned bulbs and others like snowdrops, scilla, allium, amaryllis, calla, freesia, ixia, sparaxis and ornithogalum (bells of Bethlehem) will soon be available at nurseries and garden centres. All should be planted from early October until the end of November, except the all-white ("paper white") narcissus, which may be set out just now.

When preparing bulbbeds, whether in the garden or in containers, don't mix in any fresh manure. The best plant food for bulb flowers is bone-meal; here it is sold under the trade name Gardenit.

Other beneficial additions to a bulb-growing media are peat (Kavool in Hebrew), vermiculite (natsits), sieved, well-rotted com-

FENCING OPTIONS

GARDENER'S CORNER / Walter Frankl



Proper planting depth in pots for (from left) freesia, amaryllis, callas.

post in small additions and half a teaspoonful of Osmocote grains for every bulb.

THE DEPTH of planting varies according to the species and size of the bulbs. The best planting routine is to set the bulbs with their tops below ground to a depth equal to 2 1/2 times their diameter. (The one exception is the amaryllis, which should have the top half visible on the surface.)

After frequent rains or waterings, a handful of the above-mentioned soil mixture should be spread over the soil surface so that the bulbs will not suffer from freezing and thawing or from heat in spring. In general, bulbs prefer a cool soil during their dormant period.

Hints for lawn owners. A well-kept lawn is not only attractive in itself, but also adds immensely to the beauty of a garden. Unfortunately not all of my readers, especially those in towns, possess a large enough garden spot for planting a lawn. Where space is no problem, the ambition of every amateur gardener is to possess a perfect lawn. Failure is more often due to lack of attention to the details of maintenance than to indifferent ground preparation. It is astonishing how greatly a lawn can be improved by attending to such details as weeding, the use of plant food and regular mowings.

Small quantities of either sulphate of ammonia (*gofrat amon*) or urea, thinly spread over the lawn

surface once or twice during the summer season and a 2-3 cm. thick layer of sieved compost in late autumn should be sufficient feeding. During long dry spells, regular watering is essential. The finest spray over a long period — a whole evening at least — is more beneficial than large quantities of water applied in a few minutes.

Care of the mowing machine. The lawn mower is usually the most expensive tool in a garden, and yet many amateur gardeners give it the least care. To leave a mower under the nearest bush or to hide it in a corner of the garden just as it is after use, and to leave it there until it is needed again, is the surest way to ruin it.

Too many people never think of cleaning a mower after use, although this seldom takes more than five minutes.

Routine care of a lawn mower consists simply of keeping it clean and well-oiled when mowing is finished and to store it in a dry place. Care must be taken to remove all gravel, sticks, and other rubbish from the grass before starting to cut; otherwise considerable damage may be done to the machine.

Vegetables. For weeks now, there has not been a day when I have not come out of garden without two handfuls of fresh, ripe tomatoes, easily grown in discarded pickle tins. I hope that many of my readers followed the advice given here and planted vegetables and kitchen herbs in a similar way. Besides saving money and providing essential

exercise, amateur gardening fulfils deep psychological need we all have to individualize our surroundings.

First-time gardeners will do well to start with easy-to-grow vegetables, like green onions (from bulblets), radishes (from seeds) and lettuce (from plants). If you want strong, frost-resisting plants, you should set out all seedlings as soon as not later than during the second half of September. Here is a list of vegetables to be grown everywhere in early autumn for harvests in late autumn or winter.

Sow: peas; broad beans, potatoes (tubers), carrots, spinach, radishes of all kinds, parsley (takes a long time to germinate), dill, garlic (cloves) and Jerusalem artichoke also known as topinambur (tubers). Plant: cabbages, beetroot, kohlrabi, celery, globe artichokes, rhubarb (stem-cuttings with parts of root), horseradish (parts of fleshy roots), lettuce, endive, leeks and strawber-

ries. Most vegetables and kitchen herbs can also be grown in containers. As mentioned so often in this column, you don't need a real garden to grow your favourite plants. A balcony, patio or a flat roof will serve.

It's worthwhile to see and to hear how impressive a collection of easy-to-grow plants can be with a little bit of good will and imagination. A classic example of this can be seen on the front roof-over the main entrance to Ben Gurion Airport, a beautiful "garden" with plenty of most attractive evergreens and seasonal flowers.

Lebanese Christian friends in America

By SHULAMIT NARDI

FATE, or the accidents of Zionist history, brought me into close contact with a number of Catholic Lebanese immigrants in the United States over a period of almost 10 years in the '40s and '50s. I say "Catholic" because they included Melchites as well as Maronites. It was interesting to see how the Melchites regarded the Maronites as the more important factor, seeing them always as the central group in Lebanon, the group that had given the country its special character and its Christian pride.

The wise and saintly Melchite teacher with whom I worked told me how his father — a Lebanese priest who had been sent to serve a church in Syria — once took his family on a summer excursion to the border between Syria and Lebanon. Standing there, he pointed to Lebanon and said, "Children, look hard. That is the land where a Christian can be free."

My friend never forgot this, and his desire to preserve the freedom of Lebanon's Christians led him to enthusiastic acceptance of the Zionist idea. The Jewish State would be the guarantee for Lebanon's traditional Christian centre. He was a teacher of Arabic and found that some of his Jewish students simply could not understand his pro-Zionism and argued with him.

In what was still a rather poor immigrant section of Brooklyn (the section where Philip Habib was brought up), the Maronite and Melchite churches were the focal points of the community's life. Both the community and the churches have since moved to more affluent sections of Brooklyn, and the same process has doubtless occurred in other cities — Detroit, Boston, Los Angeles — where there are sizeable

Lebanese groups. It should be pointed out of course that the Greek Orthodox, largely from Syria, were sharply differentiated from the Catholics: ancient religious distinctions separated them, giving the Catholics a Western, and the Orthodox an Arab-Russian, orientation.

WITHIN the churches of the Lebanese immigrants there was mysteriously beautiful chanting reminiscent of traditional Jewish cantillation. My father, stubbornly observant and learned Jew that he was, went to hear and was completely conquered. "Now I have learnt something about what the Second Temple must have been like," he said.

The sense of closeness to Jews was very real in the minds of my friends, both priests and laymen. They literally saw us as cousins, out of the same ancient family in the same ancient landscape. For them we and they were far older and wiser than the new breeds of European and American Christians.

I was often reminded of Hiram, King of Tyre, friend of David and Solomon, who helped in the building of the First Temple. Indeed, when an important envoy — the first from the Phalanges — arrived in the U.S., he told us that a colleague of his in Beirut had just named his twins Hiram and David.

Those were the years when the Phalange movement was first developing. Among the emigrants my Melchite friend, a student of history, was one of the first supporters of the Phalanges — he saw their armed organization, "like your Hagana," as a sign that the ancient people were learning to come to terms with modern times and political needs, to take care of themselves and not depend on great-power support. He felt strongly that France was not the reliable friend Lebanese Christians had believed her to be, while the Vatican's rather chilly indifference astounded the priests in the group. They could rely only on Israel and the Phalanges.

NOT EVERY little shopkeeper, factory worker or clerk in the Lebanese Catholic community thought in historic-political terms, but they all loved Lebanon with a passion and helped to support schools, churches and hospitals in their native villages and towns.

Their leading newspaper, *Al-Hoda*, was careful not to antagonize the newly independent Arab states. But underneath his cautious phraseology the editor remained a loyal Lebanese — "*lubnani sadaq*." Afraid to speak out clearly, he resorted to hints and parables. My Western-trained mind could not understand why my friends, the

Melchite teacher and the Maronite priest, were so excited by an *Al-Hoda* editorial on the opening of Ford automobile plant in Israel. "Ford," the editor emphasized, "more than an industry, it is a work empire." It had to be explained to me that he was really saying, "See another power has recognized Israel. Lebanon and the immigrant should, too."

In these days of struggle for the Lebanon they want to preserve American Catholic Lebanese as talking openly. But for many years only the most courageous did so, the rest behaved like a timid minority within an Arab Moslem majority.

Our friend the priest was fearful and I have no doubt that he influenced not only the members of his own little church in the northeastern American city, but hundreds of others who read his articles in *Al-Hoda* and his letters in *The New York Times* and other papers.

The priest not only wrote and spoke, he also acted. He became legend by refusing to shake Ch. Malik's hand when the Lebanese diplomat was guest of honor at the dinner of the emigrant community. Malik, who was then taking an Arab line at the United Nations, since changed his views. I wish a priest, prematurely dead and buried in Lebanon, could have known that I often think of him during the present struggle, which he foresaw and in which he was confident that Phalanges would play a crucial role. Sheikh Pierre Jemayel's son becoming President of Lebanon would have struck him and his friends as an event of enormous promise heralding better days not only for Lebanon but also for the rest of the region.

interplay of *darbuka*, tambourine and Amzalag's flute, one of Western make but used for imitative arabesques in pure oriental style. This well-conceived program was a positive contribution to the Israel Festival, giving an honourable place among the international presentations to the Jewish communities reunited in Israel after generations of dispersal and cultural divergence.

YOHANAN BOEHM

Impressive mix

MUSIC REVIEW / Yohanan Boehm

PIYUTIM — an evening of religious and secular songs (Jerusalem Khan, September 8) with The Jerusalem Sephardi Group, led by Moshe Nissan; an ensemble from Iran, headed by Albert Elias; Mussa Berlin and colleagues in hassidic music; Yemenites, led by Yehuda Haddad, with singer Gila Bashari; a Moroccan ensemble, led by Avraham Amzalag, who also produced and introduced the programme.

A FASCINATING glimpse of Oriental Jewish traditions was provided by five ethnic groups in a programme selected and explained with disarming friendliness by Avraham Amzalag, himself a composer, versatile flute-player, and passionate preserver of Oriental lore. A special type of Sephardi cantillation evolved in Jerusalem, unabashedly incorporating elements from Western sources, was demonstrated by four *hazanin*, led by Moshe Nissan, in well-sung unison. Examples from Iraq, which has a rich generations-old musical repertoire, were accompanied by the *darbuka* an oriental drum, and a recorder-like flute.

As always, the Yemenites brought

cheer and life into the presentations. Yehuda Haddad, at 72, danced like a young boy with exuberant virtuosity. With him were another dancer, equally mobile in body and expression, and the customary excellent drummer, who performed on the empty petrol tin. Yemenite singer Gila Bashari gave a beautiful demonstration of her voice and pleasant personality, singing in Hebrew and Arabic.

This display of *joie de vivre* in uninhibited extrovert performance hurt the representatives of hassidic music by comparison. Mussa Berlin and three musicians performed songs and dances with stony faces and seeming disinterest. The last of

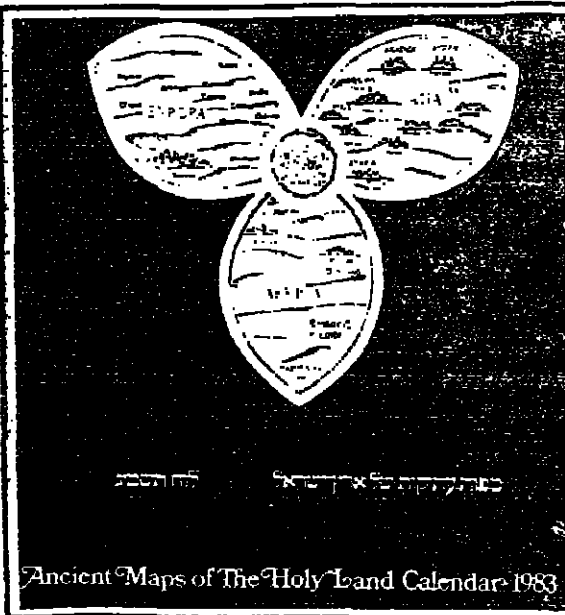
emotional participation made their contribution fall quite flat.

Moroccan traditions closed the evening with some beautiful *piyutim* (religious poetry), well sung to the

who have come to Jerusalem from 21 countries on 5 continents to hold their conference (September 12-16) and to honour with their presence the dedication of Phase Two of the ORT School of Engineering at the Hebrew University Campus, Givat Ram, Jerusalem.

ORT Israel extends to all participants and their families fraternal greetings for a Happy New Year.

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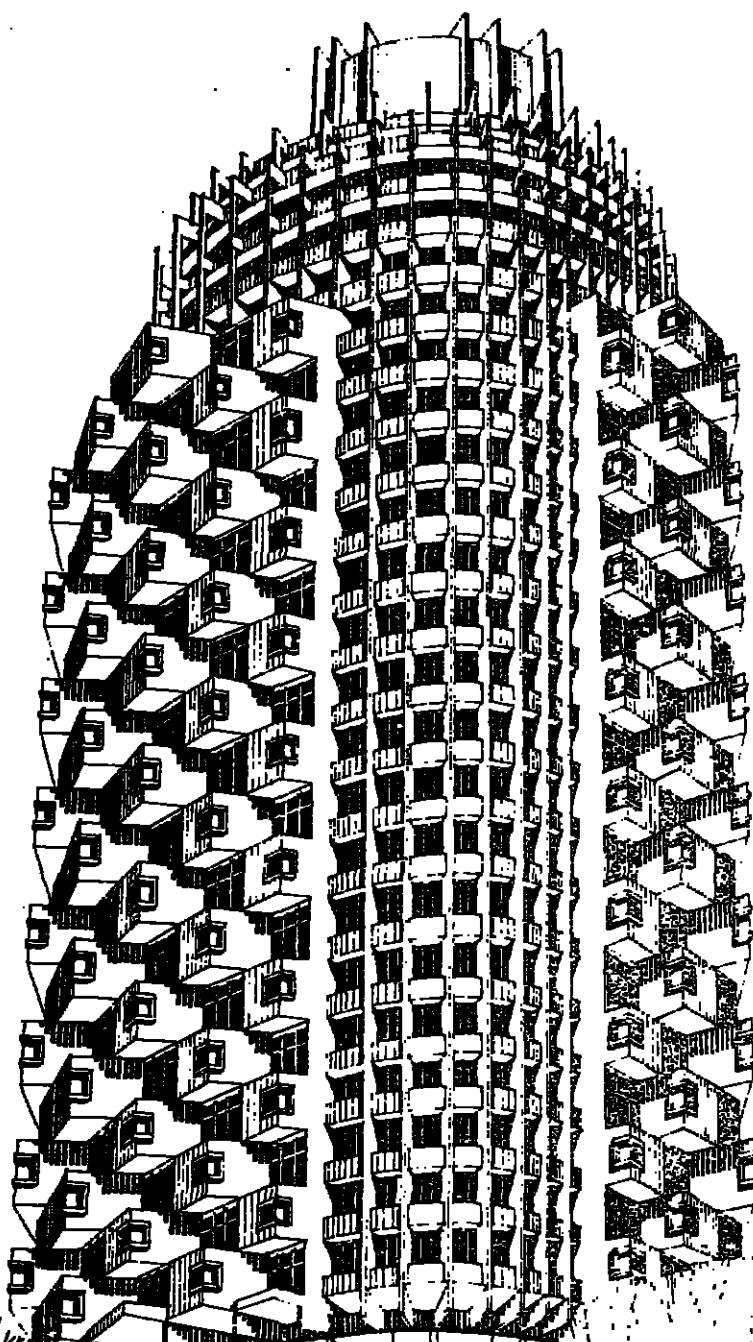
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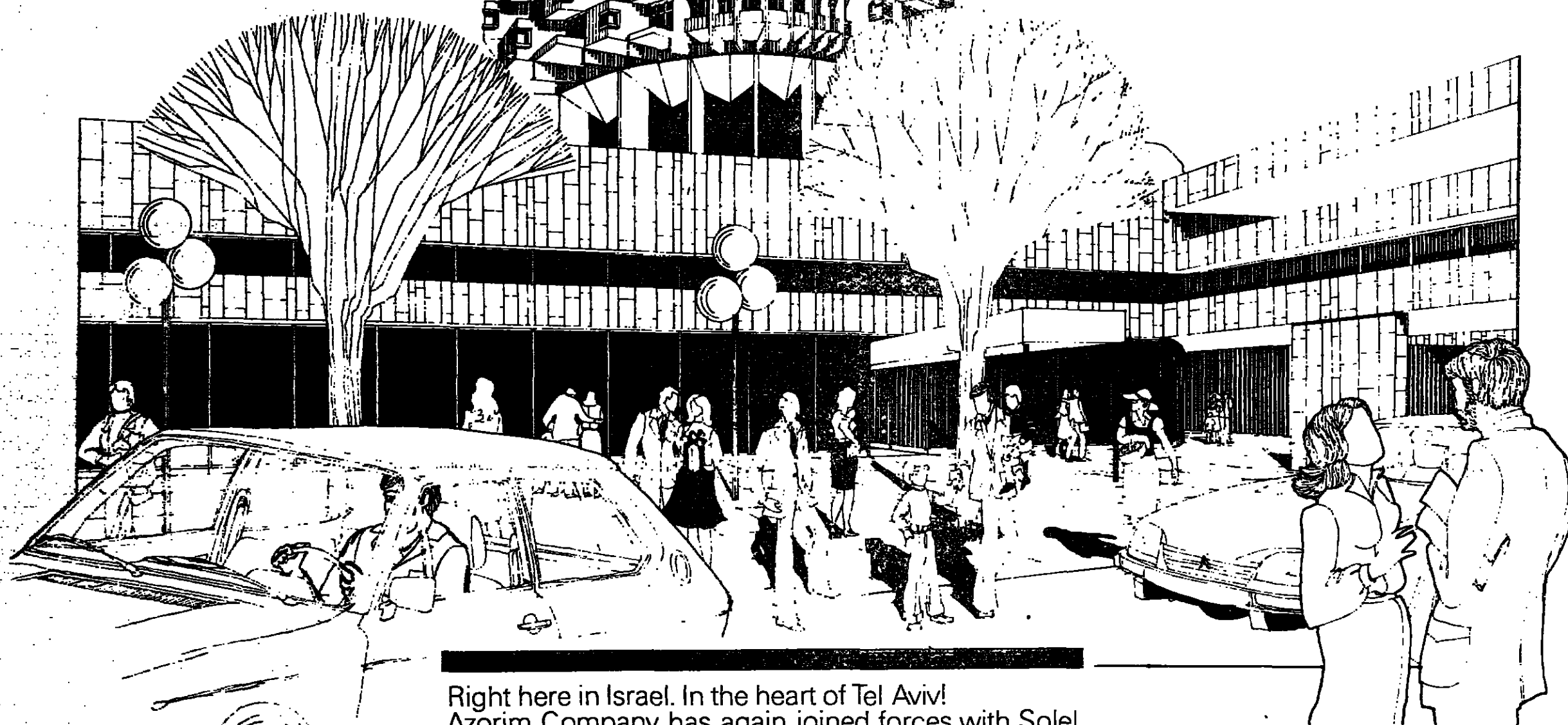
TODAY — Civil Defence (Haga) Exercise in Lod Area

A Civil Defence exercise will be held in the Lod area today, September 13. During the exercise there will be simulated firing and explosions, and sirens will be sounded. In case of an actual alert, there will be ascending and descending siren sounds.

מכון מן האל



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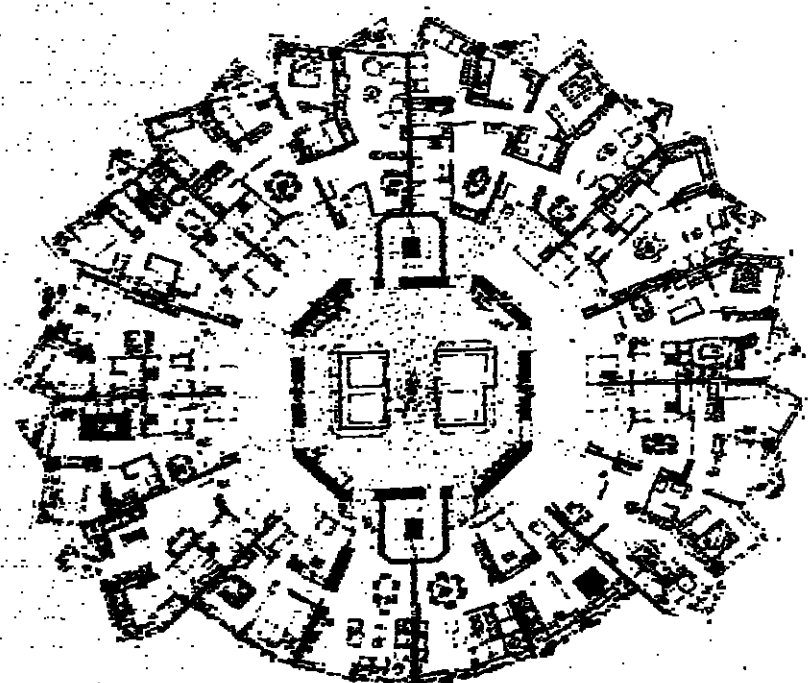
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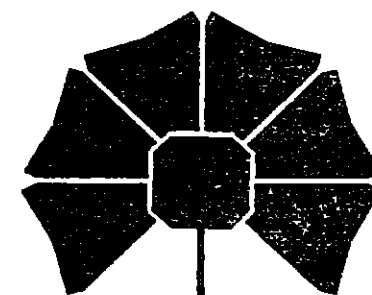
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11

Kibbutz industries seen as 'more or less marking time'

By MACABEE DEAN
TEL AVIV. — The kibbutz industries constitute "a sort of early warning system" for the hardships which will soon affect the entire industrial setup in the country, Gideon Duda, coordinator of the Kibbutz Industry Association, told the press here yesterday. "Since many of our 350 plants are small, they are much more sensitive to developing events than large factories in the city," he added.

During the last three years, "real" growth in production has been only one per cent; exports each quarter hover around the \$50m. mark; investments have dropped to the same growth level as production, and investment are much more costly, he said. The number of workers has remained stable in these three years at 13,300. During this period we have closed down 20 plants entirely or for the purpose of introducing new production lines, while we have opened only 35 new ones. The closure rate of plants is higher than it was a few years ago; the rate of opening new plants is down, Duda emphasized.

"In fact," he said, "we are more or less marking time, and this means we are actually retreating."

The solution, he added, is to adopt the Japanese method. There the government for the past ten years has steadily pumped money into the economy in new technologies, especially robotics, and in R & D.

The situation in Israel, he said, has been one of steadily shrinking government help. However, he made it plain that the government had not singled out the kibbutz industries for special treatment, and that the entire industrial setup had suffered.

The Kibbutz Industry Association was doing its best to follow the "Japanese line," even without sufficient government help.

For example, it had already moved into robotics.

The exhibition of the association at the Tel Aviv Fairgrounds, which closes this Wednesday, will today play host to a group of 250 buyers from Lebanon; another 300 buyers from abroad have already visited the show.

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New York Stock Exchange

NEW YORK. — The stock market recovered somewhat in late trading on Friday, but still finished sharply lower.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average was off about six points, it had been down as much as 12 points during the session. For the week the average was off over 18 points, the first weekly drop in over a month.

Over 1,000 issues were down while under 500 were up. Volume totaled about 72 million shares vs. 73,090,000 shares on Thursday.

Analysts blame Friday's pullback

mainly on profit-taking. They also said that some investors stayed on the sidelines because of concern about the money supply figures, while others are worried about the international economic outlook.

The nation's basic money supply M1 rose to a seasonally-adjusted average of 457.1 billion in the week ended September 1 from a revised 455.2b. the previous week.

Commodity prices were mixed. Members New York Stock Exchange Black & Schoonmaker Portfolio Management 200 West St., NY, NY Tel. 001-212-425-6795

D.J. Avg.	Transp.	Utilities	Volume
906.82	-5.70	-3.32	-87
382.60	-1.47	-1.47	-17,950,000
134.47	-0.77	-0.77	

D.J. List	Alcoa	Alcoa	Alcoa
28%	28%	28%	28%
36%	36%	36%	36%
44%	44%	44%	44%
52%	52%	52%	52%
60%	60%	60%	60%
68%	68%	68%	68%
76%	76%	76%	76%
84%	84%	84%	84%
92%	92%	92%	92%
100%	100%	100%	100%

Owens	Procter Gam.	Sears	Wm. Wrigley
25%	25%	25%	25%
33%	33%	33%	33%
41%	41%	41%	41%
49%	49%	49%	49%
57%	57%	57%	57%
65%	65%	65%	65%
73%	73%	73%	73%
81%	81%	81%	81%
89%	89%	89%	89%
97%	97%	97%	97%

TEL AVIV. — The prospect of early elections was viewed as a highly positive development by the investing community. In the wake of the news yesterday there was heavy demand for shares and all sectors of trading responded with handsome gains. Rises of up to 10 per cent were visible, particularly among industrial and investment company issues.

Part of the excitement continues to focus on the new issue market. Yesterday there were a number of faces which traded for the first time on the stock exchange. In the commercial bank sector the shares of the North American Bank debuted successfully as both the IS10 and IS50 stocks were established as "buyers only." In view of the massive demand, which totalled more than 1540 million, the shares were

established 20 per cent over their issue price.

Spectronix also debuted yesterday and posted 20 per cent gains in the aftermath of "buyers only" situations. Another newcomer, Tagal, came through with the same 20 per cent gain.

Delta-Galil Industries announced the results of its public issue with an allocation of 9.35 per cent. Today registration closes for the Galil Technologies issue.

Last week the public was able to put up no less than \$1 billion in orders for the new issues. One observer, reacting to criticism by Minister without Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i of the easy profits on the ex-

Election news is spur to shares

change, pointed out that the exchange is proving to be one of the most efficient instruments in the fight against inflation in view of the amounts of money it absorbs through new issues.

Trading was active, as share and convertible debenture trading totalled just under \$560m. Bond trading continued to reflect stability at just under the \$100m. level.

The strength of yesterday's

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENTHAU

market could be judged by the 24 issues which were "buyers only" in addition to the 63 securities which jumped by margins of more than five per cent.

Along the way the General Share Index was up by 1.3 per cent, to a new high of 242.24.

Commercial bank shares moved up moderately. The only untoward happening occurred when the Danot shares fell by as much as 4.3 per cent.

There were some sparkling gains in the insurance group. The Aryeh rights traded yesterday and were ahead by 25 per cent over their calculated price. The Aryeh shares themselves were established as

"buyers only." Recently debuted Menora came through with a 13.6 per cent jump, to 1,252. Zion 50, reacting to strong buying demand, was ahead by seven per cent.

Industrials were slightly volatile, with the majority of the issues moving higher.

Investment issues were sharply ahead on the session. Hapolim Investments (b) came through with a 10 per cent jump. Clal Trade also was ahead by 10 per cent, but the C option was even better, with a 13.3 per cent advance. Clal Israel was a full 10 per cent gainer. The Pama shares, both 0.1 and 0.5, were established as "buyers only" for the second consecutive session. The company will later this week come to the market with a new financing issue. Piryon was a 20 per cent gainer.

Commercial Banks & Banking

Closing price	Change	% change	Volume
IS1,000			
ISB prf	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf A	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf B	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf C	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf D	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf E	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf F	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf G	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf H	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf I	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf J	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf K	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf L	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf M	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf N	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf O	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf P	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf Q	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf R	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf S	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf T	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf U	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf V	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf W	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf X	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf Y	2882	+10	3,363.3
ISB prf Z	2882	+10	3,363.3

Commercial Services & Utilities

Closing price	Change	% change	Volume
IS1,000			
Delek prf	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 2	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 3	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 4	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 5	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 6	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 7	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 8	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 9	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 10	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 11	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 12	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 13	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 14	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 15	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 16	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 17	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 18	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 19	2450	+80	3,363.3
Delek db 20	2450	+80	3,363.3

Investment & Holding Companies

Closing price	Change	% change	Volume
IS1,000			
Lachish 5	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 6	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 7	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 8	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 9	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 10	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 11	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 12	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 13	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 14	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 15	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 16	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 17	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 18	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 19	631	+25	127.7
Lachish 20	631	+25	127.7

Insurance

Closing price	Change	% change	Volume
IS1,000			
Aryeh prf	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 1	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 2	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 3	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 4	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 5	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 6	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 7	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 8	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 9	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 10	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 11	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 12	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 13	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 14	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 15	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 16	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 17	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 18	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 19	1025	+25	127.7
Aryeh db 20	1025	+25	127.7

Real Estate

Closing price	Change	% change	Volume
IS1,000			
Clal prf	1948	-2	36.1
Clal	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 1	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 2	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 3	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 4	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 5	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 6	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 7	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 8	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 9	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 10	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 11	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 12	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 13	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 14	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 15	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 16	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 17	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 18	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 19	1948	-2	36.1
Clal db 20	1948	-2	36.1

Land Development Building, Citrus

Closing price	Change	% change	Volume
IS1,000			
Oren 1	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 2	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 3	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 4	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 5	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 6	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 7	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 8	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 9	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 10	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 11	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 12	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 13	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 14	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 15	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 16	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 17	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 18	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 19	1278	+48	153.8
Oren 20	1278	+48	153.8

Mortgage Banks

34.3	Teta 1	615
3.6	Teta 5	385
.5	Teta op	360
7.7	Magor	1382
34.0	Magor 0.5	715
2.6	Nikuv 0.1	153
2.6	Nikuv 1.6	883
12.3	Nikuv 5.0	630
2.5	Nikuv op 1	506
.2	Consort. Hold.	2345
11.9	Consort op	2970
754.1	Rapac 0.1 r	3232
1.2	Rapac 0.5 r	1068
133.0	Rapac op 2	750
107.3	Supersol A	2090
159.4	Supersol B	1240
17.6	Supersol op B	944
Land Development Buil		
103.8	Oren 1	1278
727.8	Oren op 1	1145
275.6	Oren op 2	1171
229.3	Azirim r	

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

Founded in 1932 by GERSHON AGRON, who was Editor until 1955. Editor 1955-1974 TED LURIE. Editor 1974-1975 LEA BEN DOR. EDITORIAL OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATION The Jerusalem Post Building, Romema, Jerusalem P.O. Box 81 (91000) Telephone 528181. Telex 26121. TEL AVIV 11 Rehov Carlebach, P.O. Box 20126 (61201) Telephone 294222. HAIFA 16 Rehov Nordau, Hadar Hacarmel, P.O. Box 4810 (31047) Telephone 645444. Published daily, except Saturday, in Jerusalem. Israel by The Palestine Post Ltd. Printed at The Jerusalem Post in Jerusalem. Registered at the G.P.O. Copyright of all material reserved, reproduction permitted only by arrangement.

Elul 25, 5742 • Zil-Ki'adah 25, 1402

Sooner or later

BEFORE President Reagan launched his Middle Eastern initiative, Premier Begin was reportedly eager to resume the autonomy talks, evidently hoping to capitalize on Israel's success in the Lebanese war. The U.S. president has, as it were, stolen the premier's thunder, and diverted attention from the autonomy scheme to his own more far-reaching positions.

Nevertheless, unless the idea of the autonomy is to be entirely scrapped, it will have to be taken up again, and by way of negotiations between Israel, Egypt and the U.S. The talks will have to be held sooner or later, and in them the positions of all the participants will have to be discussed. According to one report Mr. Begin has been giving some thought, even during the past week, to the amount of flexibility Israel might introduce into its familiar positions when the talks are resumed.

It is reasonable to assume, however, that Israel's basic orientation will not fundamentally diverge, for a start, from the stand taken by the cabinet in rejecting Mr. Reagan's plan. The cabinet charged that the U.S. positions seriously deviated, when they did not actually contradict, the Camp David Agreement, and the same criticism would doubtless be levelled at the positions advanced by the Egyptians, which were not very far from the American. Full conformity with the Camp David principles, the cabinet clearly implied, was the distinguishing feature of the Israeli positions alone.

The controversy centres largely on the outcome of the autonomy: the cabinet, overlooking Resolution 242, claimed that ultimate Israeli sovereignty over the territories was not precluded at Camp David, while the setting up of a Palestinian state, either directly or through association with Jordan, would be a mortal danger for Israel, and therefore unthinkable. The same type of argument was also applied to the full range of autonomy issues: while there was no specific warrant in the Camp David text for acceptance of the American ideas, there was also no specific warrant for the rejection of Israel's proposals.

This was easily argued, given the inherent ambiguity, and brevity, of the Agreement. But the argument itself could just as easily be reversed.

Self-determination for the Palestinians during the period of the autonomy, it might readily be granted, could not be fitted at all into the Camp David framework. But it was not necessarily so with the giving of "real authority" to the inhabitants of the territories over the land they inhabit and its resources — and, as Mr. Reagan also suggested — "subject to fair safeguards" — for Israel, that is — "on water."

This precise language, it is true, is not to be found in the Camp David Agreement. But as a reading of the Agreement, it is surely no less reasonable than Mr. Begin's claim that Israel, even after the withdrawal of its military government and civilian administration, would legally own all state lands in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, and have near exclusive control of water resources there. This is, at best, a permissible interpretation.

On internal security, the Camp David language is especially vague, and it is simply not true, as the cabinet argued, that, in the Agreement, "no distinction is made between internal security and external security." It may be reasonable for Israel to claim sole responsibility for both, but as a matter of national interest and not as a matter of demonstrable right.

There are some relevant issues on which the Agreement is wholly silent. The two most notable examples are the status of Jerusalem and the future of Israeli settlement in the territories. But such silence cannot be taken to imply endorsement of any particular view on these issues. If, or when, negotiations resume, Israel could not refuse to take up arguments, which it considers hostile, for the participation of East Jerusalem Arabs in the autonomy elections, and for a freeze on Israeli settlement.

It is simply not good enough to claim that this country would never have signed the Camp David Agreement if its interpretation were from the outset that now offered by the U.S., and Egypt, and the U.S., would not have signed the Agreement if it were interpreted Israel's way. The order of the day is to try to reconcile the warring views, on the basis of maximum fidelity to the core meaning of Camp David and on plain common sense.

The alternative is deadlock, and worse.

MIXED SIGNALS FROM MOSCOW

By MIKHAIL AGURSKY

THE LEBANESE war demonstrated that the USSR did little more than pay lip service to the cause of its Arab allies. It did not intervene effectively in the military conflict, a pattern of behaviour that differed drastically from that during previous Arab-Israeli wars.

There can be little doubt that the Soviet inactivity was connected with the recent political struggle for power within the Soviet leadership, which has seen the isolationist wing gaining strength.

It would be an oversimplification, however, to claim that Soviet policy towards the Middle East is changing; that its negative attitude to Israel is becoming neutral. This is not so. There is a certain duality in the Soviet policy towards Israel which is highly confusing.

On the one hand, there is a surprising moderation and a lack of desire to aggravate the conflict, while on the other there is a violent anti-Israeli propaganda campaign, which has escalated beyond acceptable limits.

Is this duality two sides of the same coin? There is no basis for such an assumption. But there are indications that the Lebanese war is a vital political issue among Soviet leaders who are attempting to discredit each other's policy.

One can conclude that effective control over the Soviet foreign policy and over the Soviet Army is now in the hands of the group which demonstrated such a high degree of moderation in the recent conflict.

At the same time, a considerable part of the Soviet media, which is part of the Soviet ideological machinery, is controlled by another group which makes every effort to discredit the moderate approach to Israel. Helpless to impose its will on the effective policy of the Soviet Union, this group tries to generate an image of Israel which would exclude any rapprochement between the USSR and Israel.

The heart of the Soviet propaganda machinery, which dictates its foreign policy coverage, is the Tass news agency, now controlled by a member of the ruling Dnepropetrovsk group, led by Leonid Brezhnev and Tchernenko.

According to Soviet regulations, Soviet newspapers can only use a

Tass matrix of international events although they can be selective and omit some of its parts.

But they may not add a word to an original matrix. Only two or three Soviet newspapers have correspondents in Beirut, and their reports might as well be printed on a Tass matrix.

No doubt, Tass coverage of the Lebanese war is extremely hostile to Israel. Israel is called "a fascist state." Zionists are called racists and the notorious UN decision equating Zionism with racism is frequently mentioned.

Israel is accused of genocide and its policies are compared to those of Adolf Hitler. Israeli soldiers are described as fascists who deliberately kill civilians. They are also accused of robbing peaceful members of the civilian population.

Sometimes Tass uses facts reported by the Israeli press, but presents them in a completely false context.

Israeli losses are sometimes exaggerated five or six times. But the record for exaggeration must be the claim that Syria downed 68 Israeli planes during the war. Reporting on the anti-war movement in Israel is subdued — the Eli Geva affair was mentioned by Tass, but the reason for his retirement was distorted.

The intensity of personal attacks on Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defence Minister Ariel Sharon is very strong. Recently, Tass described Sharon as "a possessed Zionist fanatic."

It is extremely important that the Rumanian initiative — which involved the proposal of peace negotiations between Syria and Israel — was mentioned by Tass without comment. But, in fact, this information was placed in a negative context as Tass reported the meeting of the Rumanian representative with Sharon and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir just after a vicious attack on Sharon.

This negative context contradicts information published here, for example, by Ha'aretz, where the Rumanian initiative was said to have been approved by the Soviet Union.

As a matter of fact "Ha'aretz" probably had correct information. Once can assume, however, that the

Rumanian initiative was approved by one Kremlin group but disapproved by another.

This brings us closer to the mystery of present Soviet behaviour. The violent Tass propaganda might be explained as an attempt to discredit the opposing political group, which is responsible for the relative Soviet moderation.

Among its members are such Soviet leaders as Yuri Andropov, Viktor Grishin and Ivan Kapitonov, as well as such Soviet military leaders as Sergei Sokolov, Nikolai Ogarkov, Viktor Kulikov, Viktor Gorskikh, all marshals or admirals.

THERE IS no doubt that the violent anti-Israeli propaganda puts these people in a difficult position, particularly because of Tass's emphasis on a possible American military intervention in Lebanon. This creates the impression that Soviet moderation towards Israel has made Lebanon an American military base, thus endangering the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, Soviet behaviour seems to be uninfluenced by these implications. The USSR went so far as to refrain from public reaction to occasional Israeli bombardments of the Soviet Embassy compound in Beirut, which was reported by Tass without comment. Nor did the USSR react to the destruction by Israeli artillery, of the East German Embassy in Beirut.

In fact the USSR openly supported the evacuation of the PLO from Beirut, even though Tass was instructed, in mid-August, to accuse Israel of obstructing this evacuation.

Moderate Soviet behaviour was not only reflected in action but in words, too, by at least two leading Soviet political commentators who are also important advisors to the government. They were Alexander Bovin and Evgeny Primakov. Bovin, regarded as very close to Andropov, delivered his comments on June 8 on television, which is, by its nature, less susceptible to control. Primakov, who is the director of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies, also participated in an extensive interview on the Lebanese war.

Neither of them resorted to condemnation of Zionism, nor did they

Dry Bones



make far-fetched accusations against Israel, and though they were hostile, they were not antagonistic.

On several occasions they stressed that Israel's aims might be different from those of the U.S. and that this might provoke serious friction between the U.S. and Israel.

The targets which they assigned to Israel were rational and unusually close to reality. Primakov disclosed an extensive knowledge of the Israeli press, especially of Ha'aretz (he stressed the importance of an article by Joel Markus which appeared on May 14). Bovin more or less agreed that Israel had a legitimate concern in Lebanon, even though Israeli methods were wrong.

Primakov also stressed "a positive development" on the Israeli Arab scene.

And he referred to the anti-war movement in Israel.

It might seem natural for a Soviet observer to do this, but it is not. Indeed, the Soviet media usually play down such trends in Israel, since they can be used for the legitimization of Israel. Primakov did not disclose which forces constitute such a development, since his approach might be used for a Soviet about-face towards any Israeli government, as was done in the mid-60's with De Gaulle when the argument of "French progressive forces" was used to legitimize

the Soviet rapprochement with France.

BOVIN AND Primakov gave verbal support to a trend which determines the real Soviet policy, but does not control a substantial part of the Soviet media.

One other dimension of the internal struggle for power in the Soviet Union which has a close relationship to the Soviet Middle East policy is the long-standing struggle against Russian nationalism, which is a manifestation of the moderate Soviet rule.

The central party committee publicly condemned the literary trend which criticizes Soviet history and especially collectivization. It is a direct attack on the literary wing of the Russian opposition within the leadership.

However, ruling Russian nationalists are tough people, capable of counter-attacking, and the condemnation of the trend is not great.

In any case, the struggle in the Kremlin is continuing and it is very difficult to predict its ultimate end.

One thing can be predicted, however.

The anti-Israel propaganda of the Soviet media may well be counter-productive. By provoking a new wave of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, it will also encourage a new wave of Zionist activity among Soviet Jews, just as it did in 1967.

The writer is a member of the Soviet and East European Research Centre at the Hebrew University.

READERS' LETTERS

NAHUM GOLDMANN'S FUNERAL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Your Judy Siegel has commented adversely on the number of those who paid — or rather failed to pay — their last respects to Dr. Nahum Goldmann. He was one of the great Jewish leaders and statesmen of our time, to be counted alongside Weizmann, Sokolow and Ben-Gurion, and he was head and shoulders above his detractors, just because of his independent, often unpopular, views and his freedom from partisan ideologies.

In particular, I hang my head in shame at the lack of respect and gratitude shown by the many thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, who owe their daily bread and much more to the brilliant diplomacy and untiring devotion of Nahum Goldmann on behalf of Nazi Germany's Jewish victims, where were they — or at least some of them — when he made his last journey to Har Herzl? RABBI DR. ALEXANDER CARLEBACH Jerusalem.

JERUSALEM RESTAURANT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Haim Shapiro's article of August 27 about the Jerusalem restaurant, "Zorba the Buddha," has awakened my sleepy stomach and induced me to make a few comments.

I am a businessman who travels a lot all over the world and who knows how to appreciate good restaurants. I was impressed by the good taste of the owners of "Zorba the Buddha," both with regard to atmosphere and food. I have found the dishes I have ordered most satisfactory.

The young proprietors are not only familiar with various tasty cuisines from East and West, but have produced their own innovative concepts with interesting variations of the original. Not only did the food win my stomach, but my heart was won by the waiters and waitresses — kind, smiling young people whom routine has not yet corrupted. Jerusalem. GAD SAPIR

AMERICAN JEWISH SUPPORT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I would like to endorse the view expressed by Peter Goldman, Director of Americans for a Safe Israel, in his letter of August 9. He is entirely correct when he states that "the large majority of American Jews support Israel's action in Lebanon."

Those who come into contact regularly with Jews throughout the U.S. and who see the Jewish papers in the major cities know Mr. Goldman's assertion to be true. Unfortunately, most assumptions about American-Jewish attitudes are based on the views of Jews in New York and Washington and, to a lesser extent, Boston. Furthermore, the Jewish critics of Israel are generally outspoken and enjoy the hospitality of the media, which is by and large strongly biased against Israel. Far from keeping attacks on Israel's conduct of the war and her

policies within the Jewish community, these critics deem it a *mitzva* to publish in the general press and vie with each other to emulate their champion, Anthony Lewis, of The New York Times for his peculiar brand of anti-Israel hatred.

The media jumps on every expression of Jewish divisiveness and those Jews whose statements and advertisements denounce Israel are, indeed, playing into the hands of Israel's enemies.

In fact, a secret PLO memorandum on propaganda techniques that came into the hands of ABC News several months ago suggests that a potent source of anti-Israel sentiment in the U.S. can be found in the Jewish critics of Israel, who should be "cultivated and encouraged."

RAPHAEL ROTHSTEIN
Great Barrington, Mass.

MISSED OPPORTUNITY

It is interesting to observe how history repeats itself, and in such a short time. Again, as with the Third Egyptian Army in the Yom Kippur war, Israel was not permitted to complete the job and reap the fruits of its victory.

MATI ALON
Jerusalem.

WHO IS AN ANTI-SEMITES?

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — There is a certain "logic" in the lying charge that I am an "anti-Semite" (Readers Letters, 3, August 1) concerning the interview of M.K.M. Gur in the "Executive Intelligence Review". The great musicologist, Heinrich Schenker, suffered the suppression of his work by the Nazis, and his widow died, under the categorical name of "Sarah," at Auschwitz. The same gentleman who planted the accusation of anti-Semitism against me in your newspaper, to this day accuses Schenker of being a Nazi. LYNDON H. LAROCHE, JR.
Frankfurt.

TRUE HEROES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — You are trying hard and doing well in your effort to justify the recent actions of your government. But through it all, those who shine brightest are the heroes who refused their orders.

War will not end till men refuse to fight.

WILLIAM G. KELSEY
Elgin, Texas.

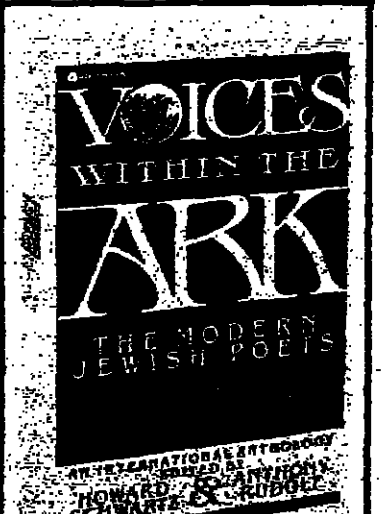
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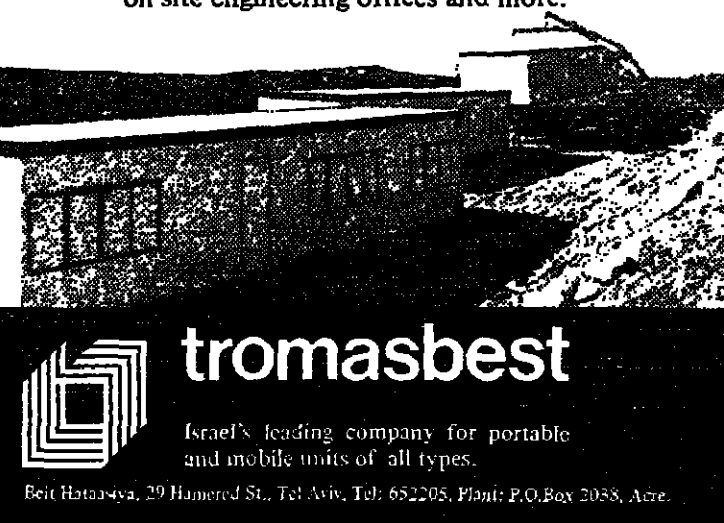
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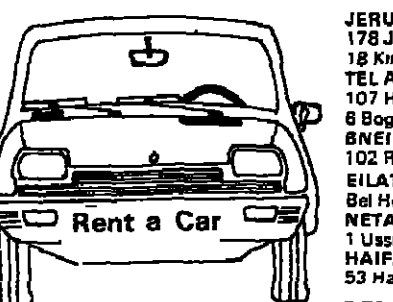
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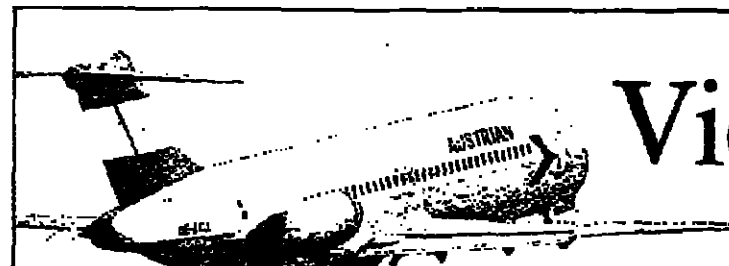


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